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TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR — No. 250

international review of the red cross



INTER ARMA CARITAS

**GENEVA
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS
FOUNDED IN 1863**

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The **International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)**, together with the League of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the 137 recognized National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, is one of the three components of the International Red Cross.

An independent humanitarian institution, the ICRC is the founding body of the Red Cross. As a neutral intermediary in case of armed conflicts or disturbances, it endeavours on its own initiative or on the basis of the Geneva Conventions to protect and assist the victims of international and civil wars and of internal troubles and tensions, thereby contributing to peace in the world.

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- specializing in international humanitarian law and ICRC doctrine,
- recording the international activities of the Red Cross, mainly for reference purpose, as a chronicle of events,

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IVth session of the General Assembly of the League

From 14 to 26 October 1985 representatives from 130 National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (approximately 500 delegates) attended the statutory meetings, the IVth session of the General Assembly of the League and the Council of Delegates of the International Red Cross, held in the premises of the International Labour Office in Geneva.

In his opening address the President of the League, Mr. Enrique de la Mata, paid tribute to the thousands of volunteers for their very effective work over the past two years in times of natural and man-made disasters. He said to the delegates, "We must try and improve our services to the community to the point of perfection", and encouraged them to speak out freely on failures and shortcomings.

The President of the League said furthermore, "The Movement should strive not only to mitigate but also to prevent all kinds of violence causing suffering".

One of the first decisions adopted by the Assembly was to admit the Sao Tome and Principe Red Cross as the 137th member of the League and to confirm the admission of five other National Societies, those of Belize, Barbados, Western Samoa, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Cape Verde.

Mr. Hans Høegh, Secretary-General of the League, gave an overview of the past two years which had been very active. The League and National Societies had carried out several large-scale relief operations. With an eye to the future, Mr. Høegh said one of the priorities was to improve the operational system for co-operation between the League Secretariat and "operating" and "participating" National Societies.

*Strategy for the Eighties:
Appeal for increased efforts*

Following the Secretary-General's statement that there had not been significant progress in the implementation of the "Strategy for the Eighties" since its adoption in Manila in 1981, the delegates appealed to National Societies to take a greater interest in the League's development policy and objectives. The speakers emphasized that it was up to the National Societies to fix their own objectives and encouraged them to draw up detailed plans in order to attain them. The second half of the decade should not go by without more substantial progress being made. One delegate said that more respect should be shown to the beneficiary Societies in bilateral aid projects. "Our countries are poor ... treat us with the dignity we deserve. We do not want charity."

Red Cross and Red Crescent Day 1987

The General Assembly unanimously decided to choose the "Child Alive Programme" for the theme of the World Red Cross and Red Crescent Day on 8 May 1987.

Racial discrimination:

Reactivating the Plan for Action adopted in 1973

The General Assembly adopted a decision inviting the Executive Council of the League to follow the implementation of the 1973 plan for action in the struggle against racism and racial discrimination and to submit a report to the Vth session of the Assembly. The National Society that presented the motion stated that discrimination existed in "many countries" and was "the shame of our century".

The Red Cross and Peace

The League Secretariat submitted to the General Assembly some suggestions for the implementation of the recommendations of the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace and a programme of work for the International Year of Peace 1986. The two main themes are:

- "Red Cross Youth Action" and
- "Dissemination of the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross as a Factor of Peace and a Contribution to Peace".

The Assembly took note of this report with satisfaction and passed it on to the Council of Delegates for discussion.

Elections

Mr. Enrique de la Mata (Spanish Red Cross), President of the League, was elected for a second term of office to the post of President of the League of National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

The Assembly also elected the vice-presidents: Dr. Ahmed El Sherif (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mrs. Siga Seye Coulibaly (Senegal), Mr. Abdul Jabbar (Bangladesh), Dr. Fouad Hamza (Syrian Arab Republic), Dr. Valeri A. Baltyski (USSR), Mrs. Mariapia Fanfani (Italy), Mr. Darrel Jones (Canada) and Dr. M. E. Villarroel Lander (Venezuela).

The President of the Swiss Red Cross, Mr. Kurt Bolliger, is *ex officio* the ninth Vice-President of the League.

Sixteen Societies were elected members of the Executive Council. For *Africa*: Algeria, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Sierra Leone; for *Asia*: China, India, Iraq, New Zealand; for *Europe*: Belgium, Finland, France, Yugoslavia; for the *Americas*: Costa Rica, Cuba, USA.

The General Assembly then elected the Treasurer General, the members of the Permanent Scale of Contributions Commission and the Finance Commission.

Treasurer General: Mr. Mehdi Bennouna (Morocco)

Permanent Scale of Contributions Commission

Chairman: Jonkheer G. Kraijenhoff (The Netherlands)

Members: Mr. David A. Balfour (Canada), Shri Ajit Bhowmick (India), Mrs. Mavy A. A. Harmon (Brazil), Mr. Imrich Hatiar (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Z. M. Nkosi (Swaziland) and Mr. D.G. Whyte (New Zealand).

Mr. José M. Loria Sanchez and Dr. Heinrich Treichl (Austria) were invited to participate in the capacity of advisers to this Commission.

Finance Commission

Chairman: Mr. George Elsey (USA)

Members: S.E.M. Hamdi Abu Zeid (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Tadateru Konoe (Japan), Dr. C. Martini Oddone (Paraguay), Mr. Erik Stampe (Denmark) and Mr. Vyacheslay Stanovov (USSR).

Dr. Hartwig Schlegelberger (Federal Republic of Germany) and Dr. François Buyoya (Burundi) were invited to offer their services as advisers to the Finance Commission.

Botho Prince of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein, President of the German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany, was appointed League delegate to the "Co-ordinating Body", provided for in the Agreement between the ICRC and the League.

General R.C. Espino, Chairman of the Philippine National Red Cross, was elected League representative on the Standing Commission to replace Dr. F. Buyoya who was appointed adviser to the Finance Commission.

Work of the Commissions

In connection with the Assembly the advisory Commissions met and submitted their reports to the supreme body which took note of them.

Report of the Development Commission

Dr. M. Barra, Chairman of the Development Commission, presented the Report of the Commission which contained the items discussed:

- "speeding up of recognition and admission procedures of National Societies" and the adoption of "concrete measures for support to new National Societies, after 1985, to enable them to fulfil the conditions for recognition and admission";
- "comprehensive participation of the operating and participating National Societies in development (consortia concept) ...";
- "contribution of regional groupings to the development of the National Societies"; and
- "least developed National Societies (concept and assistance programme)".

Report of the Health and Community Services Commission

Mr. M. Bocquet (France), Chairman of the Health and Community Services Commission, presented the Report of the Commission which contained the following points:

- "follow-up to recommendations of the First Session of the Health and Community Services Commission";

- “results of the Working Group Meeting on the Role of the Red Cross and Red Crescent in Mother and Child Health Care in Africa”;
- “participation of National Societies in national immunization programmes”.

Report of the Disaster Relief Commission

Mr. A. Wijkman, Sweden, Chairman of the Disaster Relief Commission, presented the Report on the second Meeting of the Commission.

The Report brought out that disaster prevention and an early warning system, linked to immediate intervention, were as important as the traditional relief operations set up after disasters.

Report of the Youth Commission

Mr. Oscar Zuluaga (Colombia), Chairman of the Youth Commission, presented the report on the second meeting of the Youth Commission which recommended:

- “that the *International Red Cross* study the fate of children touched in their integrity by: compulsory work, prostitution, their use in the battlefield, violations of conscience by certain techniques of communications, physical mutilations, obligation to steal and to beg ...”;
- “that *National Societies* should consider the creation of a Youth Section where none exists and promote its integrated development with all the existing services”;
- “the *General Assembly* to consider the Youth Commission as one of the Commissions to be continued after 1986”.

Statutory matters

The Assembly furthermore unanimously decided to maintain the present League Constitution and not to examine the many proposed amendments to the Constitution and Rules of Procedure. National Societies were of course free to submit amendments if they so desired.

One important point was the revision of the Statutes and Rules of Procedure of the International Red Cross. The Assembly unanimously decided to submit to the XXVth International Conference of the Red Cross the revised draft Statutes and Rules of Procedure

of the International Red Cross that it had before it and which had been approved by the ICRC shortly before.

Lastly the Assembly decided that the Vth Session of the Assembly would be held in Geneva between 17 and 22 October 1986 in the context of the meetings of the XXVth International Conference.

At the end of the Assembly's deliberations the President of the League sent the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization and the President of the Assembly a message of congratulations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the UN which "has relentlessly worked for the improvement of the fate of mankind for forty years." The President of the League said. "The motto of the League is 'Through Humanity to Peace'; the 137 National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies warmly support the ongoing efforts you make in favour of peace and justice in the world."

Council of Delegates 1985

The Council of Delegates is the statutory body of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement (International Red Cross) composed of delegates of National Societies, delegates of the International Committee (ICRC) and delegates of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. It met in Geneva on 25 October 1985 at the headquarters of the International Labour Office (ILO).

After the meeting had been opened by the Chairman of the Standing Commission, Dr. Abu-Goura, President of the Jordanian Red Crescent, Mr. Alexandre Hay, as is customary, was elected Chairman of the Council. Mr. Enrique de la Mata—whom the General Assembly of the League had elected for a second four-year term of office as President of the League a few days earlier—was elected Vice-Chairman. In his opening speech Dr. Abu-Goura emphasized the prevailing lack of respect for international humanitarian law and pleaded in favour of ratification of the Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions.

Prior to adopting the resolution and the decisions mentioned below, the Council had an animated debate on *peace and human rights*. Mr. Harald Huber, Chairman of the Commission on the Red Cross and Peace, gave the Council an account of the work performed since the Aaland Conference. The mandate of the Commission will include the study of the correlation between the Movement's contribution to a true peace and to respect of human rights. The Commission will henceforth be called "Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace".

The Council debated the question whether a *world peace day*—to be celebrated by the Movement every year—should be instituted. As no consensus could be reached on either the institution or the date of such a day, the Commission on the Red Cross,

Red Crescent and Peace was requested to study the question further. A similar decision was taken with respect to the reactivation of the Movement's Plan of Action in the Struggle against *Racism and Racial Discrimination* adopted by the Council of Delegates in 1973 (see decisions below).

The *Regulations on the Use of the Emblem by the National Societies* are being revised. In view of the numerous and sometimes diverging comments, the ICRC suggested that the National Societies who so wished should meet in Geneva in April 1986, on the occasion of Red Cross day, and have a last discussion on the draft to be submitted to the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross.

The need for National Societies to have a licence to operate a national emergency radiocommunications network was stressed again. The resolution adopted by the Council in 1983 on the *use of radiocommunications by the Red Cross organizations* must be implemented.

The report on the activities of the *Henry Dunant Institute* gave the President of the Institute, Mr. Buensod, an opportunity to emphasize again its importance as a forum of reflection at the disposal of all the components of the Movement and to express the wish that they should make increased use of its services.

The Council interrupted its normal proceedings for the award of the *Henry Dunant Medal*, which is always a very moving ceremony.

The Standing Commission awarded only two medals, which Mr. Abu-Goura presented to the recipients: Dr. Olga Milosevic, of the Yugoslav Red Cross, and Mr. Tom Willmott Sloper, of the Brazilian Red Cross. The Henry Dunant Medal is presented in acknowledgement of outstanding services or acts of self-sacrifice in the cause of the Red Cross, especially at international level.

Resolution of the Council of Delegates 1985

1

Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions

The Council of Delegates,

Mindful of the decisive contribution made by the Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 to the development of international humanitarian law and, in particular, to the protection of the civilian population against the harmful effects of armed conflicts,

Noting that the Twenty-fifth International Red Cross Conference, to be held in Geneva in October 1986, will be called upon to evaluate and report to the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, the community of States and world public opinion the state of ratification of, and accession to, the Protocols,

Aware that 51 States are party to Protocol I and 44 States to Protocol II,

Convinced that virtually all States not party to the Protocols intend to ratify or accede to them,

1. *Hopes* that all States which intend to ratify (or accede to) the Protocols will ratify them as they are before the Twenty-fifth International Red Cross Conference and thereby make this Conference a momentous event in the history of international humanitarian law;
2. *Appeals* to worldwide and regional international organizations and other intergovernmental bodies concerned—such as the

Council of Europe, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of American States, the League of Arab States, the Commonwealth, the Association of South East Asian Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Conference on Confidence and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe—to encourage their members or participants to ratify (accede to) the Protocols *before* the Twenty-fifth International Red Cross Conference;

3. *Invites* the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in States not party to the Protocols to do all that is in their power to speed up the requisite procedures in their respective countries with a view to ratification of, or accession to, the Protocols before the Twenty-fifth International Red Cross Conference;
4. *Takes note* that the ICRC will present the Twenty-fifth Conference with a report on ratifications and accessions, to serve as a basis for the evaluation which the Conference will be called upon to make;
5. *Encourages* the ICRC, supported by the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, to continue to work for the full acceptance of the Protocols eventually by all States, and for ratification or accession by most of them between now and the Twenty-fifth International Conference of the Red Cross.

Decisions of the Council of Delegates 1985

1

Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace

The Council of Delegates,

Recalling the first World Red Cross Conference on Peace (Belgrade, 1975) and the Programme of Action of the Red Cross as a Factor of Peace which resulted from it and which was adopted by consensus by the 1977 Council of Delegates,

Noting with satisfaction the success of the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace (Aaland-Stockholm, 1984), and stressing the importance of the fundamental guidelines which the Movement adopted by consensus at that Conference,

Mindful of the second operative part of Decision 1 of the 1983 Council of Delegates relative to the future of the Commission on the Red Cross and Peace, which stipulates that:

“The Commission on the Red Cross and Peace shall continue with unchanged composition until the Council of Delegates in 1985, on which date it shall submit by consensus all proposals concerning its future, its terms of reference and its composition, taking into account the results of the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace”,

Recalling Resolutions 1, 2 and 4 of the 1983 Council of Delegates,

1. *Renews* the mandate of the Commission on the Red Cross and Peace for a period of four years, as supplemented below;
2. *Changes* the name of the Commission to “Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace”;
3. *Will elect*, during its 1986 meeting, the Commission in its new composition on the basis of proposals from the present Commission. The Commission, which will continue to take decisions by consensus, shall be composed of twelve National Societies, chosen on a fair geographic basis and including six National Societies members of the present Commission and of the ICRC, the League and the Henry Dunant Institute. The Commission will continue to be chaired by the ICRC;
4. *Requests* the Commission to continue to study the implementation of the Programme of Action of the Red Cross as a Factor of Peace and of the final document of the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace, and to propose to the National Societies and the competent bodies of the ICRC and the League and to the Henry Dunant Institute, the measures necessary to achieve the objectives and carry out the tasks arising from these texts;

5. *Requests* the Commission to undertake a joint study of the third and fourth paragraphs of the Preamble to the 1983 Council of Delegates Resolution 4 on the Red Cross and Human Rights;
6. *Invites* the Commission to consider to this effect:
 - a. Developing, and co-ordinating the implementation of a four-year plan relative to the Programme of Action of the Red Cross as a Factor of Peace, to the final document of the Second World Red Cross and Red Crescent Conference on Peace, and to Resolutions 1 and 2 of the 1983 Council of Delegates;
 - b. Establishing a group of experts on human rights made up of representatives of the Commission and of other National Societies. This group of experts might undertake the joint study mentioned in point 5 above and present a report on the Movement's activities to the Commission, with reference to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the two UN Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights, as well as to other international legal instruments;
7. *Requests* the Commission to submit an interim report to the 1987 Council of Delegates, and a final report to the 1989 Council of Delegates, with proposals relative to its possible future, its mandate and its duration, for acceptance by consensus by the 1989 Council of Delegates.

2

World Red Cross and Red Crescent Peace Day

The Council of Delegates,

Having studied the working document drawn up by the ICRC and the Secretariat of the League on the basis of replies received from the National Societies,

Requests the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace to examine the appropriateness of establishing a World Red Cross and Red Crescent Peace Day and to report in due course to the Council of Delegates.

3

Reactivation of the Plan for Red Cross and Red Crescent Action in the Struggle Against Racism and Racial Discrimination

The Council of Delegates,

Recalling the existence of the Plan for Red Cross and Red Crescent Action in the Struggle Against Racism and Racial Discrimination adopted by the Board of Governors of the League and by the Council of Delegates in 1973,

Resolves to reactivate this Plan for Red Cross and Red Crescent Action in the Struggle Against Racism and Racial Discrimination,

Requests the Commission on the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Peace to co-ordinate the implementation of this Plan by the various components of the Movement, and to report in due course to the Council of Delegates.

4

Financing of the ICRC by National Societies

The Council of Delegates,

Approves the proposal put forward by Dr. Guillermo Rueda Montana, Chairman of the Commission for the Financing of the International Committee of the Red Cross, requesting the ICRC to set, in respect of the 1986 voluntary contributions by National Societies, a percentage representing a total amount which does not exceed the amount requested for 1985,

Proposes that the percentage of the financing of the ICRC by National Societies be re-examined at the Twenty-fifth International Conference.

5

Location and date of the next Council of Delegates

The next Council of Delegates will take place in Geneva in October 1986, prior to the opening of the International Conference of the Red Cross.

The development of the idea of peace in the thinking of Henry Dunant *

by André Durand

*"War or peace. Choose. The future
is in everyone's hands."*

Henry Dunant

Henry Dunant first came up against the problem of war at the battle of Solferino. The impact of the experience remained in his memory for ever and decided the course of his life. Spurred on by a deep repugnance for violence, he then set out on the long road which would lead him to propound ways and means first to protect victims of war, then to restrict the circumstances wherein war could arise, and finally to abolish war altogether. These three approaches—protection, restriction and abolition—complemented each other; they were not alternatives. To Henry Dunant's way of thinking they formed a cohesive system aimed at curbing the excesses of war while at the same time preventing its appearance and eradicating its causes.

I. Protection

When writing his basic treatise Henry Dunant was certainly aware that two courses were open to him: condemn war at its source, or concentrate on protecting the victims. If he chose the second alternative this was out of necessity. He explains this in *A Memory of Solferino*:

* This article has been taken from *Actes du Colloque Henry Dunant 1985*, edited by the Henry Dunant Society, Geneva. We thank the author and the editor for authorizing us to reproduce it here.

"Since the wishes and hopes of members of the Society of the Friends of Peace must be abandoned, like the dreams of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre and the noble aspirations of such men as the Count de Sella; "

"Since we may repeat the words of a great thinker who said: Men have reached the point of killing without hating each other, and the highest glory, the finest of all the arts, is mutual extermination; "

"Since new and terrible methods of destruction are invented daily, with perseverance worthy of a better object, and since the inventors of these instruments of destruction are applauded and encouraged in most of the great European States, which are engaged in an armament race; "

"And since, finally, the state of mind in Europe—not to mention yet other indicating factors—seems to point towards the prospect of future wars, the avoidance of which, sooner or later, seems hardly possible; "

"In view of all this, why could not advantage be taken of a time of relative calm and quiet to investigate and try to solve a question of such immense and world-wide importance, both from the humane and from the Christian standpoint? "

And Dunant confirmed this point of view in the preamble to the first work he devoted to the history of the Red Cross—*La Charité sur les champs de bataille* (Charity on the Battlefield):

"I do not claim to discuss here either the law of peace or what has come to be called the law of war.

"I do not touch upon the formidable problem of the legality of war nor, given the present state of things, upon the impossible dream of peace reigning universally.

"My aim is more modest.

*"In the name of humanity, reason, Christianity and indeed politics itself I wish, when the dreaded moment comes when men, fellow citizens, Christians—armed one against the other—start spilling soldiers' blood on the ground (the ground which should be sprinkled only by the sweat of labour), I wish charity, in the form of a relief society, to snatch from war all those of its victims whom weapons have wounded but whom the Grim Reaper has not yet scythed down."*¹

In this way, Dunant clearly stated that he was not attacking war itself. But the solemn way in which he expressed himself also showed how much he hated having to refrain from doing so. No

¹ *La Charité sur les champs de bataille*, Geneva, 1864, p. 6

doubt he felt that the time was not yet ripe to deal successfully with this aspect or that the chances of success were so remote that it was more realistic to tackle first of all the protection of victims. Moreover, these two aspects required different approaches. To have linked his proposals for the benefit of persons placed *hors de combat* to the question of banning war would certainly have jeopardized their success.

In line with Henry Dunant's way of thinking, this was also the stance the International Committee for Relief to Wounded Soldiers took at the Geneva Conference of 1863. Its objective was the protection of victims—not the abolition of war.¹ It was only to be expected that the plenipotentiaries meeting in Geneva would be very reluctant to allow civilians (voluntary relief workers) anywhere near the battlefield; and they would have been definitely opposed to the proposal if it had entered their minds that these same relief workers might be messengers of a philosophy of peace. By taking as its objective the care of those people who were *hors de combat* the Red Cross did not influence the course of the fighting. Only after some years, when it could point to the universal recognition of the work of National Societies, did the Red Cross include in its programme of action the search for ways of participating in the struggle against war.

*

However, when, many years later, Henry Dunant analysed the reasons why he had written *A Memory of Solferino*, he gave the chief reason as being the struggle against war. He wrote to Baroness von Suttner:

*"It was indeed the horror of war which inspired in me, a mere individual, this burning determination which, thanks to the world-wide help of many people committed to the cause of humanity, led not only to the accomplishment of an enormous international undertaking but also to the instilling in them of a religious horror of war and thereby converting them into friends of peace."*²

It was in the same vein that he wrote to Major Hans Daae, an army medical officer: "*A Memory of Solferino was written from a*

¹ Proceedings of the International Conference meeting in Geneva on 26, 27, 28 and 29 October 1863. Speech by General Dufour, ICRC Library, No. 3012, p. 5

² Henry Dunant to Baroness Bertha von Suttner, 24 February 1896, Suttner-Fried Collection, UNO Archives

*horror of war and with the intention to impart this horror to all mankind."*¹

As can be seen from the reactions of many readers, in particular the brothers Jules and Edmond de Goncourt, this aim was achieved: *"One finishes this book cursing war"*.

We must therefore distinguish two strands in Henry Dunant's thinking as revealed in *A Memory of Solferino*. On the one hand there are the concluding proposals—giving rise to the Red Cross—which concern themselves with a specific and clearly restricted field: the protection of victims. On the other hand, the book as a whole, while presenting a faithful portrayal of war, does not take issue with it directly but *in a roundabout way*.

*

In a roundabout way: it was Dunant himself who used this expression in a letter to Baroness von Suttner dated 25 March 1896:

*"It was the horror of war—this senseless turmoil—which has always inspired me. — I wanted to challenge the law of force at work within our piteous selves, living as we still are in a state of war, our day-to-day lives still regulated by pagan and barbarian laws. I have attacked this law of force in a roundabout way and right in the midst of its brutal fury. — I have tried to show the atrocious consequences of this law of force by describing what I saw at the site of the carnage, so as to instill into nations under orderly governments a horror at this civilized barbarity, in the hope of eradicating national hatreds and prejudices."*²

This twofold sense of what Henry Dunant meant in *A Memory of Solferino* comes through clearly in what he wrote to Rudolf Müller (21 August 1900), when he speaks of himself in the third person as was frequently his wont in writings for publication:

"In 1859, still full of the same ideas he had during the war of Italy when he first thought of 'The International Work of the Red Cross', his aim was twofold: (1) to find a remedy for the evils of war; (2) to convey the horror of war. In point of fact his book A Memory of Solferino fulfils the second aim which was so dear to his heart.

¹ Henry Dunant to Dr. Hans Daae, 23 May 1900, Anders Daae Archives, Oslo

² Henry Dunant to Baroness Bertha von Suttner, 25 March 1896, Suttner-Fried Collection, UNO

*"He quite rightly thought that, rather than come out openly against war, it was more prudent to let his book speak for itself by showing all the horror involved..."*¹

*

It was therefore at the time of Solferino—even before the battle—that Henry Dunant considered he first felt inclined towards pacifism:

*"Many years before the publication of A Memory of Solferino I thought it the duty of all honest men to try and draw together more closely the moral and intellectual bonds amongst kind-hearted people; to unite in one group the best people in every country to work for the common goal of peace throughout the world and harmony among nations. It is the horror of war—that senseless turmoil—which has always inspired me."*²

Apropos of this, Dunant recalled an incident which occurred during his brief military career. It was in 1856. The royalist uprising in the canton of Neuchâtel had almost caused Prussia to intervene. The Swiss Army was being mobilized. In Geneva Frédéric Amiel composed a patriotic song. Henry Dunant, who was in Palermo at the time, did not share this enthusiasm. As he was suffering from a cold his doctor told him that the climate in Malta would be good for him. He therefore went to Malta and then to Tunis where he spent the winter. When he returned to Switzerland he found life was made difficult for him: *"The radical authorities, pleased at an opportunity to harass an aristocrat, albeit in the wrong, did not want to listen to reason."*³ He then decided, as he says, to have resort to an excellent stratagem, namely to claim French nationality, to which he was entitled because he was descended, through his maternal grandmother (Colladon—maiden name Gille), from the Huguenots who took refuge in Geneva after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

"From that moment on", wrote Dunant, "as a Frenchman I was exempt from military service and was no longer subjected to the petty

¹ Dunant to Rudolf Müller, 21 August 1900. Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève (hereinafter referred to as BPU), Fr. MS 5203. f. 220

² Dunant to Bertha von Suttner, 25 March 1896, Suttner-Fried Collection, UNO

³ See Pierre Bertrand, *Le conflit entre Henry Dunant et les Autorités radicales de Genève* (The conflict between Henry Dunant and the radical authorities of Geneva), *La Tribune de Genève*, 27 August 1963.

harassment of the Geneva Military Department. The matter was duly approved by the Consul General of France and the Federal Military Authority."¹

Was it antimilitarism which led Dunant, at 28 years of age, to seek to escape his military obligations or should his decision be seen as a manifestation of his touchy nature? He goes on to say: "*I have always been a model soldier and have nothing to reproach myself with.*" He rejected the accusation of lack of patriotism:

"My kind of patriotism is genuine, not the false and narrow short-sighted kind which is not patriotism but the residue of barbarism, condemned both by the Christian way of thinking and by the conscience of modern man."

Rather must one see in Henry Dunant's decision the effect of a kind of indifference to nationalities—an indifference which grew stronger throughout his life. He stated that he had always "*agreed with the outlook described as cosmopolitan and humanitarian*" and commended the remarks by the Prince de Ligne when he boasted in the same cosmopolitan spirit "*that he had seven different nationalities*".

If Dunant remembered this incident for such a long time it is because it had memorable consequences. In point of fact Dunant wrote:

"Then, to show that I was not a coward (and obsessed as I was by the memory of Miss Nightingale in the Crimea) I set out for Lombardy in 1859 at my own risk and peril and, there I became, as they said, 'the first Samaritan'. — You know the rest."

*

We too know it. From that point on Dunant was to devote all his energies to having enacted, in law and in practice, the substance of his proposals advocating respect for medical services and protection of the wounded, then, on the same lines, the extension of this respect and protection to the shipwrecked (as early as 1867) and to prisoners of war (likewise from 1867 onwards and in his

¹ In a letter to Rudolf Müller, Dunant pointed out that he had never ceased to request that people "who had scruples of conscience about carrying arms—people from all kinds of Christian faiths and sects (...) reject permission to serve in the medical corps". Stating that he had acquired dual nationality so as no longer to serve in the army he went on: "Through conviction I rejected the soldier's life in 1857-58. And even as far back as 1849 I was an advocate for peace." (4 September 1900, BPU, Fr. MS 5203, f. 244)

lectures in Great Britain in 1872 and 1873). In this way he explored the humanitarian sphere which would later be covered by the first three Geneva Conventions: the wounded and sick during war on land, the wounded, sick and the shipwrecked during naval warfare, and prisoners of war.

II. Limitations

However, proceeding against war in this “roundabout way” did not attack the core of belligerency. It attenuated the effects without yet tackling the causes.

Undoubtedly Dunant had an opportunity, during the war of 1870 and the fighting in the *Commune*, to observe that merely protecting the victims only partly relieved the miseries of war and that even the application of humanitarian law left something to be desired in certain circumstances. This was the case in the Franco-Prussian war, when the fury of the fighting and the deployment of groups of snipers seriously hindered the application of the Geneva Convention; the same was true during the fighting in the *Commune* which, to some extent, foreshadowed the methods of urban guerilla warfare.

The idea of resorting to arbitration came to Dunant in 1870. At the time when the *Association internationale de Prévoyance* (International Provident Association) was founded there appeared—among other projects with assistance and social well-being in mind—a scheme to set up a jury of arbitration. In an article in the *Moniteur universel* (16 April 1871), Firmin Mirbeau recalled the role Dunant played in its foundation and made this incisive comment:

“The most important improvement being studied by the Association is the constitution of a grand international jury which could be called on to judge all disputes grave enough to cause a war of extermination.”

The idea of international arbitration continued from then on to form part of Henry Dunant’s ideas. It was one of the elements of the programme of the Universal Alliance of Order and Civilization, founded in Paris in June 1871 and in London in 1873.

The programme of the *Universal Alliance* did not aim to overthrow the social or political order but sought to improve it by furthering progress, well-being and social justice, thereby eliminating the causes of disorders, revolutions and wars. In particular, the Alliance proposed:

"To encourage, by all legitimate means, the steady progress of civilization by trying to preserve political and social peace (in short, proper harmony amongst nations and individuals) while remaining aloof from personal strife—for example by remaining aloof from political struggles between parties and governments."

By appealing to sentiments of justice and benevolence the Alliance proposed a form of patriarchal rather than paternalistic society founded on the co-operation of the "best people". These idealistic views—though evincing a high moral stance—probably did not take sufficient cognizance of the economic situation during the second half of the nineteenth century or of escalating social demands and political confrontations which were to dominate the world scene. Nevertheless they provided Dunant with a framework for his thinking as regards arbitration, the fight against slavery and the protection of prisoners of war.

*

It was during a lecture given in Plymouth on 13 September 1872 that Dunant propounded his concept of arbitration. At that period he was continuing simultaneous inquiries into the protection of prisoners of war and into arbitration. He then contacted Henry Richard, president of the Peace Society and pioneer of arbitration amongst nations, and was appointed Secretary of the Society. Henry Richard encouraged Dunant to reply to the question publicly posed by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences: *"Is it possible to establish an International Court of Arbitration in order to avoid wars and, if so, how?"* Dunant's reply was naturally in the affirmative. He pointed out the initiatives previously taken to this effect by Lord Clarendon and Napoleon III. Moreover, a current event provided him with a wonderful example, because at that very moment a dispute between the United States and Great Britain over the ship *Alabama* was being put to arbitration in the very room in the City Hall where, eight years previously, the Geneva Convention had been concluded.¹

In his presentation Dunant proposed setting up a "High Court of International Arbitration" *"made up of the diplomatic services of civilized States"*. He noted that arbitration was one of those ideas which although *"looked upon by many as generous but utopian might*

¹ Arbitral award was rendered on 14 September 1872. To commemorate the event, the Geneva authorities had a salute fired from the top of the Treille Promenade.

soon become, so to speak, a permanent and regular feature of diplomacy, because today's Utopia often becomes tomorrow's reality." He proposed starting a movement which would lead to the conclusion of a diplomatic treaty by availing itself of the same means which had been used to create the Geneva Convention, "*the originator of which,*" he said, "*who is now addressing you, has always been a zealous champion of world peace*".

For the most part Dunant himself drafted the bulletins for the Universal Alliance. In the bulletin of the English branch of the Alliance, *The Universal Alliance*, he published an article entitled *The Peace of Europe* which he later quoted in a letter to Dr. Hans Daae as an example of his formal commitment on behalf of peace:¹

"Ideas of tolerance, of concurrence in good works, of the coming 'reign of law' between nations, as between individuals, as a means to the attainment of lasting peace, can only form the strongest and most enduring of ties. The extension of these ideas and of the social affections from which they spring is the very end for which society exists.

"It is certain, however, that international conflicts will occur; and the practical question is how to regulate them in the interest of humanity. That such benevolent aspirations are prevalent in all civilized nations is a fact; but, in order that they may constitute a distinct and permanent gain to society, they must give birth to laws constituting an internal bond between nations, superior to all the accidents of war and the estrangements caused by the collision of present interest."

*

Thus Henry Dunant was well aware that, in the world as it existed, wars seemed inevitable and would be more and more deadly. His vision of war seemed to expand. Up until then, he had seen mainly its material consequences: the wounded, the dead, destruction and physical suffering. From then on he became sensible of the destructive effect it exerted on the soul. He feared he could not rely on the moral values to which he appealed in his

¹ "I am enclosing a publication in English dated June 1874 which I drew up and for which I wrote the articles. I was the one who created this little journal in London to promote the spread of humanitarian works by the Universal Alliance founded by me but which no longer exists either in London or in Paris." Henry Dunant to Dr. Hans Daae, 30 April 1899, Anders Daae Archives, Oslo.

Universal Alliance manifestos: the virtues of order, benevolence and solidarity amongst nations. When, in 1888-1889, he undertook the editing of the main copy for *l'Avenir sanglant*, an eloquent pamphlet against war, militarism and poverty, he became the accuser:

"When one studies the long succession of centuries—all of them filled with perpetual wars—to judge the past according to the Word of God is to make against history an unanswerable accusation of crimes against the human race.

"War, the science of disorder which proceeds from the anarchy in high places, kills not only the body but also too often the soul. It humiliates, corrupts, withers, demeans. Cloaked in the most deceptive appearances, it is the source of a thousand degrading, cruel and bestial things. Its savagery devours and becomes wild hatred: its brilliance turns to darkness. It obfuscates intelligence, twists and distorts the mind. It fetters the souls it does not destroy. Its demands preclude liberty, fraternity and family life, friends, neighbours, even one's conscience. Whose sons are these men, who are incapable of producing life and yet so adept in wiping it out, whose talents are geared towards murder and destruction and whose glory derives therefrom?"¹

At the same time he tried to tackle more closely the fundamental aspects of belligerency by fighting against the harmful manifestations of traditionalism and against the illusions they engendered, which he himself, it would appear, had difficulty in divesting himself of:

"People are afraid of truth and they do not like to proclaim it too loudly as it would harm their interests and their position in the world; they fear to attract attention because the yoke of accepted ideas is so heavy that we do not dare to cast it off; these ideas weigh so heavily upon us that they even come to take the place of our conscience. Is not our entire life most often a continual effort to escape from ourselves and from the truth? If we accepted the truth there would be too many things to revise, correct and change in our ideas, in our opinions, in our judgements and in the wisdom we think we possess; it would almost involve having to begin learning all over again.

"We therefore owe a debt of gratitude to those who are not afraid to speak the truth, who fight against worldwide militarism, against

¹ *L'Avenir sanglant*, BPU, Fr. MS 4557, pp. 51-52. Quoted by D.C. Mercanton (Mrs Barbey-Mercanton): Henry Dunant, *A Memory of Solferino*, followed by *l'Avenir sanglant*, Henry Dunant Institute, Editions l'Âge d'Homme, 1969, p. 161.

war and its principal cause: 'political chauvinism which fosters hatred among peoples' (Schroeder). Indeed yes, if chauvinism were to disappear mankind would be happier."¹

Thus in 1899, during the Conference of The Hague, Dunant was ready to resume his offensive against war and make his opinions known on the problem of arbitration and the treatment of prisoners of war. At that time he could count upon an effective ally: Baroness Bertha von Suttner, whom he would make his messenger to the delegates at the Conference. However let us here take up the third phase of the struggle against war: the struggle for its abolition.

III. Abolition

It was in September 1895 that the meeting—by correspondence—took place between Henry Dunant and Baroness von Suttner. Hungarian by birth and Austrian by marriage, Bertha von Suttner, née Countess Kinsky, seems to have been a woman of a wide culture and of noble character, unreservedly devoted to the cause of pacifism. She founded the Austrian Society of Friends of Peace² and was one of the outstanding figures in the pacifist movement at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

Baumberger's article on Henry Dunant, which appeared in *Über Land und Meer* in August 1895, had brought the founder of the Red Cross back into the public eye. Certainly, Dunant had not been completely forgotten. He could still count on faithful friends with whom he kept up a steady correspondence. But Baumberger's article had a two-fold effect: while revealing to the general public Henry Dunant's role in founding the Red Cross he paid a glowing tribute to him in a way that could not but move him and restore his self-confidence.

¹ L'Avenir sanglant, BPU, ms fr 4560, p. 13. Quoted by D.C. Mercanton, op. cit., p. 155.

This text appeared in German in the review *Die Waffen nieder*, VIth year, 1897, No. 8/9, p. 310. (See page 30, Note 3.) The second paragraph of the passage quoted above is worded somewhat differently:

"We therefore owe a debt of gratitude to those who are not afraid to speak the truth, who fight against worldwide militarism, against war and its principal cause: chauvinism. Chauvinism fosters hatred among peoples, nations and races. This destructive chauvinism must not be confused with healthy patriotism. Patriotism is love and true devotion; but chauvinism is hate—hateful fanaticism." (Translated from the German text.)

² Österreichische Gesellschaft der Friedensfreunde, 1891

In June 1892, the Winterthur branch of the Red Cross, which maintained excellent friendly relations with Henry Dunant, gave him for the anniversary of the battle of Solferino, a book by Baroness von Suttner book entitled "*Die Waffen nieder!*" (Down with arms!).¹

In this publication, a novel with a message wherein the authoress describes the development of her feeling towards unconditional pacifism, the work and character of Henry Dunant are warmly evoked:

"The Red Cross! I knew the feelings of immense and sorrowful compassion that underlie this institution. I had taken a keen interest in the meetings held in Geneva; I had read Dunant's writings which brought it into being and which are one sustained cry of anguish and compassion.

"This noble citizen of Geneva, after having courageously worked to exhaustion on the battlefield of Solferino, told the world what he had seen: a colossal number of wounded abandoned for five or six days, with no aid at all. He wanted to aid all of them, but what could he do in the face of such immense distress? He saw poor wretches whose lives would have been saved by a drop of water and a piece of bread; he saw men who were still breathing being hastily buried! He also denounced the scarcity of resources available to the ambulance services."

Dunant could not but be touched by this tribute. He wrote to his brother Pierre:

*"... [a few] days ago for the anniversary of Solferino the Committee sent me, with a charming letter, a book by Baroness Bertha von Suttner (Dresden and Leipzig, 1892), beautifully bound in two volumes: it is a novel about war, or rather against war, entitled Die Waffen nieder! (Down with arms!) and has created quite a stir. It is the story of a family which begins in Solferino and covers three wars in Denmark, Austria and France. Its heroine speaks of my book A Memory of Solferino and very flatteringly of me as the founder of the Convention."*²

Dunant does not seem to have established contact with Bertha von Suttner immediately. In September 1895 he wrote to her enclosing various press cuttings, including an article from *Das Rote*

¹ Bertha von Suttner, *Die Waffen nieder!* Dresden, Leipzig and Vienna, 1889

² Henry Dunant to Pierre Dunant, 22 July 1892. BPU, Fr. MS 2115 C, f. 117 (letter incomplete)

Kreuz (the official publication of the Swiss Red Cross) and very probably Baumberger's article. Bertha von Suttner replied at once, first on 28 September acknowledging receipt of his letter and promising to write in greater detail; then on 7 October in an enthusiastic letter full of respect and admiration for Henry Dunant.

On the one hand, she had discovered that he was still alive:

*"Once I learned that you were still of this world (because indeed I too thought you were dead) and once, having read the newspapers which you kindly sent me, I came to know of the entire extent of your work—which showed me the full extent of the ingratitude of nations—I felt a burning desire within myself to spare my contemporaries the shame of forgetting about you in a similar way."*¹

On the other hand she discovered Dunant's pacifism and immediately enrolled him in the peace movement:

"What filled me with immense joy was to learn from your letter and the article in Rothe Kreuz published in Bern that you are one of us. That is to say a peace-loving person, an enemy of war and militarism. You have placed your glowing charity at the service of mankind to alleviate and prevent the evils caused by war; you would be a thousand times more happy if mankind were spared for ever from these evils. But it was the only way in which to begin—your movement was the precursor of ours. Mgr Freppel has realized this."

And if she felt so much joy in learning that the founder of the Red Cross was a peace-loving person, it was because she was not convinced that the Red Cross Societies shared his convictions:

"But the various Red Cross Societies that show themselves opposed to the peace movement do not realize this.—And this is explained by the participation of military personnel in this institution whose raison d'être is war."

*

Here appears what might be called the paradox of the Red Cross.

If it is regarded simply as an institution for improving the efficiency of medical services and protecting the wounded without discrimination, then one can say that it comes within the general framework of war; it is trying to mitigate its effects without expressly aiming to abolish it. Medical services are an integral part of armies. Although they refrain from taking part in the fighting,

¹ Bertha von Suttner to Henry Dunant, 7 October 1895, BPU, Fr. MS 2112, p. 112

they are nevertheless one of the elements in their country's defence. In the early years of the institution, certain medical officers refused to be referred to as "neutral" out of feelings of patriotism.

But if the work of the Red Cross is viewed from the dynamic aspect and not merely as a formal structure; if it is seen as the first legal application of a movement of ideas which sets the protection of and respect for human beings in the forefront of its concerns; if it is considered that, by proclaiming the concept of universal solidarity among men, the Red Cross was questioning the notion of the inevitability of war; finally, if reference is made to Dunant's own analysis of the motives which inspired him, then it may be said that the Red Cross has opened the route towards a law of peace and that its vocation comprises taking part, within its own sphere, in the struggle to abolish armed conflicts.

*

Henry Dunant was quite clearly overwhelmed by Bertha von Suttner's reaction. In his reply he declared himself willing to take part in the peace movement, bringing to it the benefit of his talents and prestige. He agreed with the Baroness's interpretation of his feelings: *"It was indeed the horror of war which inspired the work of which I came to be the founder."* But, at the same time, he continued to be guided by a dramatic vision of history which recurs like a *leitmotiv*, in his writings. As a consequence, he was unwilling to compromise on the role of the Red Cross, which he included as one of the elements in the programme he suggested to his correspondent:

"If peace is to reign one day, we must do everything in our power henceforth to prepare for this reign. And we must do it even though, sad to say, we may be convinced that Europe and the world may have to undergo a general war. Let us therefore prepare people's minds and hearts for practical action and let us never cease to show our commitment:

1. *To arbitration among nations, among various associations and among individuals.*

2. *To the international work of the Red Cross, in all its branches (first-aid workers and so on).*

3. *To an International Women's Alliance for Good Works under the patronage of the Sovereigns and the princesses of the Royal Families to enhance (gradually) needless to say, the social position of*

woman throughout the world, to protect them, to defend them, etc., wherever necessary."¹

Bertha von Suttner, for her part, was unwilling to take part personally in so many different projects. While assuring Dunant of her "unfailing admiration", she warned him that she could not become actively involved:

"The work for which I am responsible—I might almost say, by which I am crushed—in the peace movement means that I am duty-bound not to deviate from it and not to undertake any other large projects."²

Thus Dunant, whose genius sometimes tended to dissipate its efforts, found himself led back to a definitive goal: promoting pacifism.

*

Henry Dunant certainly benefitted from meeting Bertha von Suttner. In her he found a confidante and a friend. He had the chance to describe his life and ordeals in autobiographical letters, in which he also recalled the various stages in the development of his pacifist ideas.

Instead of confiding the trend of his thoughts and his indignation to his notebooks he was able to publish them in the journal of the Friends of Peace, *Die Waffen nieder!*, or in other journals in sympathy with their ideas.³

Among his new friends he found like minds and encouragement. His thought took shape. The aim remained the abolition of

¹ Henry Dunant to Bertha von Suttner, 10 October 1895, Suttner-Fried Collection, UNO

² Bertha von Suttner to Henry Dunant, 28 October 1895, BPU, Fr. MS 2112, p. 115

³ *Die Waffen nieder! Monatsschrift zur Förderung der Friedensbewegung*. (...) Herausgegeben von Baronin Bertha von Suttner. *Die Waffen nieder!* published the following:

— Fifth year (1896), No. 9, under the title "An die Presse", text taken from the manuscript of *l'Avenir sanglant* (cahier 4, BPU Fr. MS 4560); adapted to the requirements of the periodical, dated Heiden, August 1896. Translation by A.G. von Suttner. Reproduced in *Berliner Volkszeitung* and, under the title *Ein Feuerwort*, by *Monatliche Extrablätter für Freiheit, Friede und Fortschritt*, Bern, January 1897.

— Sixth year (1897), Nos 5, 6 and 8/9 of extracts from *l'Avenir sanglant*, under the title *Kleines Arsenal gegen den Militarismus*. Translation by Countess Hedwig Potting.

No. 10: *Kleines Arsenal gegen den Krieg*. Same translator. Reproduced in *Monatliche Extrablätter für Freiheit, Friede und Fortschritt*, May 1898.

See D.C. Mercanton, Henry Dunant, *Essai bio-bibliographique*, Nos 42, 43 and 44. Henry Dunant Institute, 1971

war; the means: a publicity campaign which would result in an irresistible movement of public opinion so strong as to bring pressure to bear even on governments and lead to the conclusion of diplomatic agreements that would give tangible form to this popular movement.¹

*

It was with this in mind that Dunant submitted a grand plan to Bertha von Suttner: the creation of an international peace movement, a League for Peace, brought about by a Universal Women's Alliance which, extending to all continents and all cultures, might total 10 or 20 million members and could undoubtedly influence governments:

*"Only women, once convinced, have enough energy to obtain a really substantial result. Well-disposed men are deterred at a certain stage of zeal or even conviction by the fear of being taxed with lack of patriotism. That will not prevent them from encouraging the women's movement but many of them are afraid of being called international, stateless, etc.—in a word, of compromising themselves."*²

Nevertheless, to attract the masses, Dunant still counted on the help of the aristocracy:

"In order to succeed, such a movement must have the aristocracy at its head and in every respect it must be organized on a completely aristocratic basis."

Undoubtedly Dunant was thinking back to the publicity campaign he conducted in 1863, when he toured the courts of Europe to obtain the support of princes and kings. But what was effective when it concerned obtaining protection and neutral status for the wounded might be less so when it came to enrolling these crowned heads in the struggle for peace. Baroness von Suttner, herself a member of the Austro-Hungarian nobility, the daughter of a field-marshal and chamberlain of the Dual Monarchy, did not share what she called his "illusions":

¹ On his 68th birthday the International Peace Bureau sent Henry Dunant the following message: "The philanthropic international Red Cross Institution, due to your initiative, is the precursor of the era of peace which must one day regenerate the world by guaranteeing the well-being of peoples. In the name of the International Peace Bureau, Elie Ducommun, Honorary Secretary." 7 May 1896, UNO Archives.

² Henry Dunant to Bertha von Suttner, 6 July 1896, Suttner-Fried Collection, UNO

*"Unfortunately, in the peace movement, the aristocrats are still our opponents; it is in the ranks of my cousins, male and female, where I find the greatest resistance to this propaganda—generals, courtiers, chamberlains and officers' wives believe that any talk of changing old customs has to do with nihilism and anarchism. For them, people who want to reform the present state of society (a state which has brought them so many advantages) are either criminals or else mad."*¹

*

When notifying Dunant of the publication of the first of her articles "Ein kleines Arsenal gegen den Militarismus" in *Die Waffen nieder!*, Bertha von Suttner made another request to him:

"And now something else: Mr. Idelson had the idea of taking the peace movement to the East. He will speak to you about his plan; I can add that the idea of conducting this crusade, together with you, fills me with enthusiasm and I shall try to win the support also of General Turr, who has many contacts in the countries of the East and is, as perhaps you know, a fervent pacifist." (28 May 1897, BPU Fr. MS 2122, p. 133)

Dunant needed no further encouragement. The Near East had always held an interest for him and sparked off his imagination. To this he added the Far East, with which he was less familiar but where the Red Cross had by that time been well established, particularly in Siam and Japan:

"Japan alone is enough to justify our interest."

"The minutes of the Red Cross Society read by the President in the presence of the Empress of Japan revealed that there were more than three hundred thousand members of the Japanese Red Cross the previous year." (31 July 1897, Suttner-Fried Collection, UNO.)

He then drew up the "*Adresse aux Nations de l'Extrême-Orient*", which he sent to Dr. Idelson on 14 July to be forwarded to Bertha von Suttner.

"Europeans who are engaged in the struggle against war appeal, through this document, to Asians of all races, nations, religions and opinions to request them to work with them in a brotherly spirit to promote peace throughout the world."

"Our civilization, termed European, came to us from the East. You have been several centuries ahead of us. Over and above

¹ Bertha von Suttner to Henry Dunant, 18 July 1896, BPU, Fr. MS 2112, p. 122

everything else we must clearly recognize and admit with deep sadness that for many centuries our ancestors, our European ancestors, have all too often behaved in a barbaric manner towards your ancestors, the people of the Far East. ...

"We appeal to all you peoples of the East and Far East and plead with you to set up among yourselves peace associations like ours and with which we can correspond, in order to disseminate these ideas in your countries, joining us in acting with a single purpose for the good of mankind."

The address was read on 22 August 1897 at the Peace Congress in Hamburg for which Henry Dunant had special off-prints made and distributed several copies.

On 6 August Henry Dunant sent Bertha von Suttner his request for admission to the Society of the Friends of Peace.

*

The Imperial Proclamation of 12 August 1898 wherein the Czar, Nicholas II, proposed convening a diplomatic conference which would search for *"the most effective means of ensuring that all nations reaped the benefits of a real and lasting peace and, above all, ways of putting an end to the continual development of present-day weapons"* aroused great hopes among the public, in spite of the reservations voiced in diplomatic circles. It suddenly seemed that the end of the century would mark the end, or at least the decline, of barbaric customs and herald an era of reason in the century to come. In pacifist circles, enthusiasm was unbounded. Bertha von Suttner immediately wrote to Henry Dunant:

"Well, my dear good friend, what have you to say about this wonderful news—the Czar's missive?"

"I have been waiting a long time for news from you, I have also waited in vain for more gems from your storehouse of knowledge.—Are you ill?"

"I am enormously busy, for as a result of Nicholas II's peace manifesto, letters, dispatches and requests for articles are flowing in. (...). (7 September 1898, BPU, Fr. MS 2,112 p. 140.)"

Baroness de Saint-René, from the Women's League for General Disarmament, declared:

*"I hope that before long the Peace Leagues will have no more reason to exist."*¹

¹ Baroness de Saint-René to Henry Dunant, 30 August 1898, BPU, Fr. MS 2111, p. 303

Dunant, too, was enthusiastic. But he had seen too much misery and heard too many solemn promises to believe that a diplomatic conference could at the stroke of a pen abolish national rivalries and bridle the ambitions of the leaders of nations. At bottom he had a tragic view of history: he expressed it in those astonishing religious diagrams by which, on the basis of biblical prophesies and the Revelations of St. John, he illustrates the future of humanity and the tribulations that will confront it until the last syllable of recorded time.

The themes in *L'Avenir sanglant*—a very detailed work which Dunant intended to publish (and large extracts of which, as we have seen, were published thanks to Baroness von Suttner's help)—constitute a picture of political and social spheres which is no less dramatic. As its title indicates, the future as glimpsed by Dunant is not one of peaceful resolutions:

*"There will be destruction to avoid being destroyed; and once the dogs of war have been unleashed it cannot be otherwise. The combatants in the duel resumed time and again for centuries are ready for more battles, for a struggle to the bitter end, determined to drag the rest of Europe (and perhaps indeed the entire world) in with them. And this at a time when monarchies, churches and all institutions revered by men for their antiquity are threatening to fall into ruin, and after them many people see nothing but bottomless darkness. This conflict will involve most of the civilized nations, whether they wish it or not; discarding their brilliant but misleading civilization, they will relapse into barbarity—scientific barbarity! And amid this gigantic mêlée of races, all will suffer to some extent the appalling consequences."*¹

He was not therefore ready to share the view that "*Peace Leagues would have no more reason to exist*"; still less the Red Cross Societies. Hence in his reply to Bertha von Suttner he continues to be realistic:

*"You, Madam, are the one who must be thanked above all. An enormous step has been taken, whatever may happen. The world will no longer cry 'Utopia!'—contempt for our ideas is henceforth forbidden. And if it does not become a reality immediately after the Congress, which will certainly take place, it is nevertheless on the right road. This initiative will always remain as a precedent."*²

¹ *L'Avenir sanglant*, BPU, Fr. MS 4557, p. 11. Quoted by D.C. Mercanton, op. cit., p. 192.

² Henry Dunant to Bertha von Suttner, 21 September 1898, Suttner-Fried Collection, UNO

Nevertheless, this realism, this clear-headedness, acted on Dunant as a spur rather than as a brake. As at Solferino, he was undismayed by the immensity of the task, using the medium which suited him best—writing—he immediately joined in the struggle being conducted by the Friends of Peace. Under the title “The proposal by His Majesty, The Emperor Nicholas II”, he published a remarkable commentary, clearly and vigorously expounding his own views as to how to strengthen the spirit of peace and to set up a system of arbitration among nations.¹

“It would be a tremendous achievement if one could simply manage, by common agreement and to an extent which is reasonable, prudent and sensible, to slow down this frightful struggle wherein each one is trying to outdistance the others and if one could put an end to the constant increase in armaments or reduce them gradually, avoiding any offence to the pride of governments and proceeding by stages. Here, as in all great actions, there are numerous practical difficulties to be solved and numerous obstacles to be overcome. The great cause for joy is the reversal of opinion in favour of pacifism which is beginning to take effect in people’s minds, thanks to the intervention by the Emperor: States will no longer be merely concerned with thwarting each other and making ceaseless preparations to destroy one another at a time when society is tottering on its foundations. That alone makes it worthwhile to ponder calmly the Russian proposal.” (p. 5)

After having paid tribute to Frédéric Passy, “a veteran in the cause of peace”, and to Baroness von Suttner, “a tireless advocate and staunch supporter of peace”, Dunant emphasized the role of the Societies for Peace and that of Arbitration and Disarmament:

“It is numbers, in the end, which form public opinion, particularly in Western Europe where the electorate, i.e., the people, influence governments. Each of us, and all without exception, men and women of every nation, must work towards appeasement and harmony; this alone can improve conditions for multitudes of human beings in a lasting and serious manner. It is both a duty and a privilege.” (p. 6)

Then, to pour scorn on those who, either through blindness or imbecility, refused to imagine the calamities threatening humanity, Dunant had recourse to the style of the ancient prophets:

“Let them not then bewail their fate, those upon whom will fall the frightful calamities of future wars—those who will have scorned even

¹ Published in German also in the *Deutsche Revue*, January 1889

to take the trouble to study the question of peace; those who will have treated it lightheartedly, with bias and with irony. Woe unto them! Because, should they be spared by war, anarchy with all its horrors, anarchy—the inevitable consequence of worldwide conflagration—will not spare them. They will be like dust driven before the tempest. Evil will spread from nation to nation. Do not mock now because the time of destruction is at hand; the blood of nations will flow as water upon the face of the earth.” (p. 7)

Dunant then appealed to the public at large, as being the only force capable of winning the consent of governments:

“Rouse yourselves therefore from your lethargy, your culpable indifference, your futile petty squabbles often completely pointless. Open your eyes which you have closed to danger; there are fateful moments in history: do not let pass the auspicious time—the year of goodwill; let not the end of the century slip away without a great popular peace movement springing up everywhere in favour of peace and the reduction of armaments, and may the number of its partisans be counted in millions. When you are in the majority, yours is the opinion which forms that of your governments, your parliaments, your ministries. Everywhere, therefore there must be majorities clearly determined on peace; so on this issue your apathy is cowardice; your indifference, insanity; your opposition, laziness and ignorance—worse still, it is a crime. Wake up before it is too late.” (pp. 7 and 8)

Then expanding on the substance of the Emperor's proclamation, and drawing inspiration from the proposals he himself had put forward at the Plymouth Congress in September 1872, Dunant considered what kind of shape to confer on institutions designed to avoid, or at least put limits on, conflicts:

— A permanent congress, or international assembly, holding regular meetings, *“a genuine international power for good, inspired by the highest sentiment that of peace (...).”* (p. 8, summarized version.)

— This Permanent Congress would come to adopt international legal principles capable of safeguarding lasting peace. (p. 9, *id.*)

— Each nation could set up a consultative committee, composed of eminent national figures, responsible for helping diplomats in their work and defending national interests. (p. 10, *id.*)

— It would be within the competence of the Congress, convened by sessions of the Permanent Bureau, to smooth out diffi-

culties whenever a quarrel between two nations was referred to it. (p. 11, *id.*)

— The Congress would also be a Disarmament and Arbitration Bureau or an International Mediation Bureau. (p. 13, *id.*)

— Later, in the course of successive sessions, the Permanent Congress could contemplate setting up new bodies similar to the international offices (Universal Postal Union, International Telegraphic Administration, International Bureau of Weights and Measures, etc.) as well as major undertakings of general utility. (p. 13 *id.*)

Recalling the scepticism and disbelief which greeted the foundation of the Red Cross, Dunant showed the role he played in bringing men and nations together:

"The Red Cross Societies were the first milestone in the brotherly reconciliation of nations on the practical basis of charity at its highest and most noble: among men of all countries they created bonds of sympathy and good will; they helped to destroy many international prejudices by giving thinking people a broader and more balanced understanding of men and countries. In time of peace they will always bring the balm of kindness to heal the most grievous wounds of Humanity." (p. 12)

Dunant finally called on all people of good will to support the Czar's initiative:

"War or peace. Choose. The future is in everyone's hands. Are you for peace? If the answer is yes, then you, men of all races, should hasten to become active members of the numerous peace societies, so as to bear witness to your love of peace; or, if no such society exists where you are, found one." (p. 17)

*

Dunant did not go to The Hague. But from his place of retirement in Heiden, he followed closely the progress of the Conference. He advised Baroness von Suttner and indicated whom she should meet. He seemed to be burning with desire to be there and to stir people up again as he had done so successfully in 1863.

For her part, Bertha von Suttner had numerous discussions with delegates to the Conference many of whom she knew. She was disturbed that the Conference agenda included under item 5, the adaptation of the Geneva Convention to naval warfare.

In her opinion, this was wasted effort, since the time spent on “Codifying violence” would allow the main problems, disarmament and arbitration, to be “dodged”.¹

Eight days before the Conference began, this great pacifist had told Henry Dunant her opinion on the subject and asked him for his support:

“My dear Sir, my friend,

“Your splendid work, which has done so much good, is now—in the hands of reactionaries—being turned into an obstacle in the path of a greater good.

“You know what I mean: all the military men, statesmen and governments, who do not want to hear a word about the end of wars, entrench themselves behind the Red Cross and the Geneva Convention to obstruct the entire Conference of The Hague. They are going to discuss additional articles to deal with the evils of future massacres, so as not to have to concern themselves with the means of avoiding such massacres.

“Well, this is what must be opposed. These gentlemen must learn that the nations expect more and that the founder of the Red Cross himself, who keeps abreast of the times, expects more. You have always wanted the Red Cross to be a step towards the white flag of peace. Between 1859 and 1899 the world has not stood still.

“So to fend off this danger—this snare which has been laid for pacifists—what we would need is for you to protest. I know how you think on this. If you were to write me a letter in this vein and permit me to publish it, perhaps we could frustrate the militarists’ plans and ensure that the outcome of the Conference is in line with what you demonstrated so well in your article for the Deutsche Revue.

“Please write to me at the Central Hotel in The Hague, where I arrive on the sixteenth of this month.”²

Dunant replied immediately (12 May 1899) to Bertha von Suttner. After having paid tribute to the “noble and humane feminine influence” and to his correspondent’s “great experience”, he continues:

“As the instigator of the International Work of the Red Cross and the Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field, known as the Geneva Convention, I openly

¹ See Bertha von Suttner, *Der Kampf und die Vermeidung des Weltkriegs (1892-1900 und 1907-1914)*, Herausgegeben von Dr. Alfred H. Fried, I. Band, Zurich 1917, Orell Füssli, p. 525.

² Bertha von Suttner to Henry Dunant, 9 May 1899, BPU, Fr. MS 2112, p. 145

confess that it is aversion to war and the horrors of war which has always guided me.—Also, subject number 8 in the programme of the Circular sent on 30 December 1898/11 January 1899 by His Excellency, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Russia, to the representatives of the Powers at St. Petersburg, has all my support.

"This item accepts the principle of mediation and arbitration, with the aim of preventing armed conflicts among nations. My pamphlet proves to you how much I would like to see an official, diplomatic, international study into ways of promoting peace; I would also like to see the Hague Congress set up a Permanent Mediation Bureau recognized by all the States in the world—with annual sessions—and to which they would be obliged always to have recourse in order to smooth out complications that might arise in the future.

"This Permanent Bureau, once set up by a congress such as the Congress of The Hague, would promptly become an established institution, the competence of which no one would call into doubt. This would make it much easier to maintain a lasting agreement and keep peace in the world without sacrificing the interest of any of the States while at the same time safeguarding their pride and their national honour. This can be done only by a powerful diplomatic assembly such as the one in The Hague and would be a great step along the path towards true civilization.

"The fact that an International Special Committee is a permanent body appointed by the Congress of The Hague (Subject No. 8 on the official programme presented by Russia) would effectively contribute to perpetuating the peaceful wishes of Sovereigns and peoples and—what is more—'would powerfully combine'—as has been so well expressed in the Emperor's proclamation—'the efforts of all States sincerely endeavouring to make the great concept of universal peace triumph over disruptive and discordant elements.'

*I have the honour to be,
Your Ladyship's obedient servant,
H. Dunant
Instigator of the International
Work of the Red Cross
and the 'Geneva Convention'.*

Heiden, 12 May 1899¹

¹ Suttner-Fried Collection, UNO

Bertha von Suttner then published Dunant's reply in the *Daily Bulletin* distributed to the delegates at the Conference, using a quotation from Frédéric Passy as an epigraph: "*One does not humanize slaughter—one condemns it because one is in the process of becoming more humane*". In a brief introduction she stated that Dunant had replied to the question she asked him: "*Whether he thought the Peace Conference should concern itself mainly with extending the Geneva Convention or rather if he too thought the Red Cross should give way to the white flag.*"

Dunant was certainly very satisfied at having been able, in this way, to make his voice heard in the Conference and place before the delegates his plan for a Permanent Mediation Bureau. It is noticeable, however, that he did not reply exactly to the question that Bertha von Suttner had asked. The Red Cross was his life, the crown of all his work. Peace was his objective. He did not understand how anyone could regard them as conflicting, or even dissociated. On the contrary, he considered that they supported each other. So when he declared that Item No. 8 of the Conference "*had all his support*", he was not making a value judgement on the other subjects on its agenda.¹ As he wrote to Bertha von Suttner on 18 May:

"It is pointless to blind ourselves to facts. No official diplomatic programme can be changed or modified because any external attempt, any approach by outsiders, would be loftily rejected by such a Conference. There is nothing one can do about it. I feel our entire tactics must be for us to 'cling to' Item 8 in order to obtain, if possible, a special 'resolution', a protocol separate from the rest, establishing a 'Permanent Diplomatic Commission for Mediation', a resolution of the Congress of The Hague which would stand apart, independent of the first seven items of Count Muravieff's Programme.

*"It would be dangerous to tamper with the first seven items on the programme and even to talk about them."*²

¹ Item 8 of the Conference agenda was drafted as follows: "Acceptance in principle of the use of offers of services, mediation and optional arbitration for suitable cases, with the aim of preventing conflicts among nations; agreement on how they are to be applied and the establishment of uniform practice in their employment".

² Henry Dunant to Baroness von Suttner, 18 May 1899, Suttner-Fried Collection, UNO

In addition Dunant proposed designating The Hague as the headquarters of the Mediation Committee "*in tribute to Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands*".

*

In point of fact Henry Dunant never strayed very far from Baroness von Suttner's point of view, though probably for other reasons. He had had experience of the 1863 Geneva Congress and the 1864 Diplomatic Conference, where the programme had been limited strictly to a single subject. When the draft convention on prisoners of war, presented in 1872 by the Universal Alliance of Order and Civilization, appeared on the more extensive programme proposed by the Czar, Alexander II, at the Brussels Conference in 1874, Dunant had had a feeling that a distinction would be made later on between the Law of Geneva and the Law of The Hague:

"The Alliance wanted to diminish the horrors of war by proposing a draft diplomatic convention for prisoners of war.

"As for the Russian Government, it wants to regulate war, which is something quite different.

"The Alliance studied and sought to find a single wide-ranging issue concerning humanity.

"Russia wants to regulate the laws and customs of war...

*"There is obviously a great difference between the two attitudes, the two plans and the two methods of approach."*¹

In addition, in his commentary on the proposals by Czar Nicholas II, Dunant had advocated an approach which, by limiting the conference programme to a single objective, would have improved its chances of success:

"All the States in the world can reach diplomatic agreement on a clearly defined issue. Thus each year a new question could be dealt with, discussed and resolved and lead to a diplomatic convention on that specific point. In Brussels the Conference wished to include too many things at once; and that is exactly what prevents the conclusion of a regular diplomatic treaty approved by Governments." (p. 15)

*

¹ *La Croix-Rouge*, the Belgian Bulletin of the Universal Alliance, *Revue de la Charité internationale sur les champs de bataille et en temps de paix*, tenth year, September 1874

As regards the subject which appeared vital in the pacifists' view—arms reduction—the States representatives to the Hague Conference contented themselves with recommendations. Those who drew up the conference documents believed that the various nations' criteria governing military manpower and spending were so disparate that co-ordinated agreement in this respect could not be hoped for.

Despite this reservation, the Conference had profoundly changed the nature of relationships between nations: it had instituted the recourse to good offices and mediation; it had provided for the establishment of international commissions of inquiry; and it had set up a Permanent Court of Arbitration. In the eyes of the partisans of peace this represented considerable progress. It could hardly be expected that arbitration would immediately become binding just after such a concept had been introduced or that there would not be some reservations in its field of application.

The Conference had also introduced important innovations in codifying the laws and customs of war and in adapting the Geneva Convention of 22 August 1864 to naval warfare. Henry Dunant was able to note with satisfaction that two of the subjects which had preoccupied him from the first—the protection of victims of naval warfare, which the Empress Eugénie had asked him to promote in 1867, and the protection of prisoners of war, on which he had lectured in London in 1872 and Brighton in 1873—had actually been embodied in law.

*

Scarcely had the Congress of The Hague finished its work when war broke out in South Africa. This was surely the moment to put into effect the provisions of the Hague Conventions on arbitration and mediation. But it rarely happens that a diplomatic treaty can be strictly applied to every situation. Great Britain considered that the Boer War was not a war between States, and that therefore the concept of arbitration did not appear applicable. Nevertheless, Dunant took part in the endeavours of various institutions and committees seeking to end the war by mediation, either through the press¹ or by associating himself with the demonstrations of pacifist organizations. For him it was an opportunity for the public practical implementation of his views on arbitration and mediation. On

¹ See the article published in *Allgemeen Handelsblatt*, Amsterdam, 22 June 1900. D.C. Mercanton, *Henry Dunant, Essai bio-bibliographique*. No. 50.

17 March 1900 he sent Major Hans Daae a very detailed report on what various countries in Europe had been doing and the petitions they had made in favour of mediation and pointed out his part in it:

"The partisans of peace have not remained idle since war started in South Africa.

"The Dutch have made direct approaches (to which I was asked to be party and to which I eagerly agreed) to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, to try and speed up a peace agreement, or at least a cease-fire to open the way to arbitration. In addition, a similar approach has been made by the Austrian Society of the Friends of Peace in Vienna (in which the Baroness B. von Suttner requested me to join) to the Queen and the British Government.

*"Approaches have also been made by the Netherlands General Peace League, by the Netherlands Women's League for International Disarmament, also by the World League for Peace and Free International Trade, the headquarters of which is in The Hague and which has done me the honour of appointing me Honorary President. (...)"*¹

*

Henry Dunant was not one of those who are fully committed to the civilizing influence of science. To his way of thinking, every discovery could always be made subservient to the forces of destruction as long as mankind had not reached its full spiritual maturity and as long as it was incapable of confining scientific advances to peaceful purposes.

*"Science", he wrote, "has introduced us to Krupp's canons, to torpedoes, to dynamite, and so on; it quite likely has a lot of other surprises in store, to our future sorrow. If the slightest discovery, as Leibnitz said, acquires an infinitite value by virtue of the simple fact that it is common property to all nations and countries, what would he say today of the abuses made of science? After having been so dearly bought by governments, most of these new engines of death and destruction will more or less fall into the hands of the public and thereby contribute even more to future turmoil."*²

When he wrote these lines, Henry Dunant had no notion that the inventor of dynamite would be the very reason for the resto-

¹ Henry Dunant to Dr. Hans Daae, 17 March 1900, Anders Daae Archives, Oslo

² *L'Avenir sanglant*, BPU, ms fr 4560, p. 8. D.C. Mercanton, *op. cit.*, p. 187

ration of his international prestige. Indeed, Alfred Nobel too had come to realize that scientific discoveries often went beyond what their inventor intended and that it was then too late to cry: *"I never intended that."* In the closing years of his life Nobel, influenced by Baroness von Suttner, decided to devote part of his wealth to found a prize for the man or institution *"who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity among nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for the holding and promoting of peace congresses"*. The provisions in his will (the broad outlines of which were known immediately after his death on 10 December 1896) were made public in 1898. At that time the Norwegian Parliament (responsible for administering the Nobel Peace Prize) was inundated by the candidatures of numerous partisans of peace, all of whom were well-deserving aspirants.

Among the candidates nominated, Henry Dunant was undoubtedly one of those with the most support. At the beginning of 1897 when, with Professor Rudolf Müller, he was completing the last chapter (the appendix) of his great work on the History of the Origins of the Red Cross and the Geneva Convention,¹ Dunant revealed what a great interest he took in the recently founded prize.

Rudolf Müller then acted to rally opinion in favour of Dunant, whom he considered particularly qualified to receive the prize.

Not everyone thought so. Some people even felt that the work of the Red Cross, although great, was distinct from the struggle for peace. We have seen how much Bertha von Suttner admired Henry Dunant's work and thought and how much she appreciated his commitment to peace movements; nevertheless she gave preference, at least for the first nomination, to Frédéric Passy, one of the earliest pioneers in the struggle against war.

Along with Rudolf Müller, Dr. Hans Daae, a medical officer in the Norwegian army, figures as one of Henry Dunant's most effective supporters. Their correspondence, which began in September 1898 and continued well after the award of the first Nobel Peace Prize, provides valuable information on Henry Dunant's thinking. Dunant immediately felt at ease with the Norwegian doctor, who had himself performed medical duties at the front during the war between Turkey and Greece and had published

¹ Rudolf Müller, *Entstehungsgeschichte des Roten Kreuzes und der Genfer Konvention mit Unterstützung ihres Begründers J.H. Dunant*, Stuttgart, Greiner & Pfeiffer, 1897

several small volumes describing his experiences. He was therefore in a good position to understand the work of the founder of the Red Cross.

In December 1898 Dr. Hans Daae visited Dunant in Heiden after having met Rudolf Müller in Stuttgart, and proceeded to join with Rudolf Müller in attempting to persuade the Nobel Committee in Norway to award the prize to Dunant.¹

To provide a record, Dunant supplied his correspondent with abundant documentation on his work and publications: pamphlets, books and press articles. As he had done in his letters to Bertha von Suttner, he looked back and analysed the work he had carried out in the joint spheres of the Red Cross and the struggle for peace. He expounded his favourite theme: the Red Cross is a pathway leading to peace.

This analysis is particularly significant in one letter where Dunant traces the history of his own thought. Recalling the times when he was a guest of Count Eulenburg in Berlin and of the Crown Prince Frédéric in Potsdam in 1863, while he was developing his ideas about the future progress of the work of the Red Cross, he recollected the objectives which he expounded then to his hosts: the recruitment of voluntary hospital workers, a distinctive emblem for ambulances and hospitals, international congresses of Permanent Societies, a Humanitarian Convention between Governments. He went on as follows:

"My final great goal was to show what war is, so that all would be horrified at it. That is why I wrote my book A Memory of Solferino in 1861.—I hoped in this practical way—albeit indirectly—to contribute a little to the spread of ideas regarding international peace, arbitration and mediation.

"Everyone avowed that it was the first time the horrors of war had been laid bare and war depicted in all its frightful reality.

*"It was, in point of fact, the horror of war that took me to Solferino."*²

There followed an analytical summary of how his work had developed from Solferino until the pacifist era; in it he concentrated on showing that all the stages in the progress of humanitarian law and the law of peace had succeeded each other without

¹ See W. Heudtlass, *J.H. Dunant and the events leading to the award of the first Nobel Peace Prize*, in *The International Review of the Red Cross*, June 1964, pp. 283 ff.

² Henry Dunant to Hans Daae, 23 May 1900, Anders Daae Archives, Oslo

interruption since he first became involved in humanitarian work, and formed a logical chain of events:

"Thus, when my initial goal to assist the wounded had been attained, 1) by the International Conference in Geneva in October 1863, which founded the Work of the Red Cross; 2) by the Diplomatic Congress in August 1864, which produced the "Geneva Convention"; and 3) by being put into practical effect in Sadowa in 1866, I was concerned simultaneously with the question of peaceful arbitration amongst nations and with a draft Diplomatic Convention for Prisoners of War. I founded, first in Paris in 1871 and then in London in 1873, a 'Universal Alliance of Order and Civilization'. In 1872, large meetings of which I was the organizer took place in Paris, attended by the most distinguished men in France, who were sympathetic to these noble humanitarian questions. All the contemporary Parisian newspapers reported them and a large book was published containing the speeches that were made and the Resolutions that were adopted. These events gave rise to the 1874 Congress in Brussels, the Work of which was resumed in The Hague, by His Majesty the Czar, Nicolas II, in 1899.

"This sequence of events has been proved historically. The Congress of The Hague, known as the Peace Congress, was a decisive step—because it was a diplomatic congress—towards creating peace throughout the world."

*

And so the wheel had come full circle. Over a fifty-year period of intellectual development Henry Dunant's humanitarian notions had become more extensive without his ever straying from the path he had traced out for himself and without his ever forgetting the revelation which, on the evening of Solferino, had decided his vocation in life. The honour of receiving the Nobel Peace Prize for 1901—which he shared with Frédéric Passy—was the highest accolade he could have hoped for, public recognition for the greatness of his work and his thought.

We have seen that there were several candidates for the Nobel Prize. Among the friends of peace Dunant could rely upon enthusiastic supporters, in particular Princess Wiszniewska, President of the International Alliance of Women for Peace. Yet the pacifist, Alfred H. Fried, who was campaigning for Frédéric Passy, declared himself strongly opposed to the nomination of Henry Dunant.

Certainly both these great philanthropists had followed different paths. When faced with the problem of war in 1859, each had

reacted according to his natural inclination. Frédéric Passy had publicly protested against the war in Lombardy, whereas Dunant, amid the wounded in Solferino, had straightaway opted for protecting the victims. But it must be added that Henry Dunant and Frédéric Passy were soon to meet and think highly of each other; it was at Dunant's request that Frédéric Passy presented a paper on arbitration during the Congress of the Alliance of Order and Civilization in 1872 in Paris.¹ One may suppose that the Storting Committee in Norway, by sharing the prize between the founder of the Red Cross and the pioneer of pacifism, wished not only to give satisfaction to the supporters of both men but also to affirm that both movements were contributing to the struggle against war and complemented each other in the search for ways to bring about peace.

Bertha von Suttner immediately wrote to Dunant (11 December 1901) to congratulate him. She too felt that Frédéric Passy's work was more in line with what Alfred Nobel had intended than that of Henry Dunant.² But this great soul was too generous to show any reservations. Thinking only of her ideal, she requested Dunant to devote his newly-acquired fame to the cause of peace:

"The world in general knows you only as the founder of an Institution which alleviates war; I should like to publish a note addressed to me from you, and dated the day after your nomination for the Nobel Prize, to prove to the world that you are one of those who, having alleviated the effects of war, wish to abolish it altogether.

"And now let me once again repeat my congratulations. I am happy to think that this ray of gratitude, this honour, this tribute and this joy have come to lighten your loneliness.

Kindest regards,
B. Suttner"³

¹ See Henry Dunant to Rudolf Müller, 4 September 1900, BPU, Fr. MS, 2112, p. 149.

² "... Awarding the Peace Prize to Dunant represented yet another concession to the idea which was to be found at the Conference of The Hague and which wishes to establish the doctrine that the only action to be taken against war should in reason be continued to its mitigation..." B. von Suttner, *Memoiren*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909, p. 121 (translated from the German). Several of Dunant's correspondents or colleagues in the struggle for peace were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in the course of the following years: Elie Ducommun and C.A. Gobat (1902), Bertha von Suttner (1905), Fredrik Bajer (1909), the International Peace Bureau (1910) and Alfred Fried (1911).

³ Bertha von Suttner to Henry Dunant, 11 December 1901, BPU, Fr. MS 2112, p. 150

Dunant did not fail to comply with Baroness von Suttner's request, after some delay due to his poor health. On 25 December he sent her this very beautiful letter, dated as of 10 December 1901. After having paid tribute to his correspondent's work for peace, he took the trouble to recall the origin of his own feelings about peace and to emphasize—in Nobel's own terms—his role in the “work for fraternity among nations”:

“Madam,

“I am pleased to pay tribute to you on this day when a telegram from Christiania has just informed me that I (along with my old and venerable colleague, Mr. Frédéric Passy) have been awarded the Alfred Nobel Peace Prize.

“This prize, Madam, is your doing; because it was through you that Mr. Nobel was introduced to the peace movement and, thanks to your entreaties, that he became its protector.

“For more than fifty years now, I myself have been an open supporter of peace amongst nations and a champion of the white flag. From my youth, my objective has always been fraternity among nations. As the founder of the Universal Work of the Red Cross and as promoter of the Geneva Diplomatic Convention of 22 August 1864, I say it and repeat it today more than ever.

“Believe me, Madam, in writing A Memory of Solferino my aim was directed at establishing universal peace; in so far as possible I wanted to convey the horror of war to all who read my pages.

“Nor, as time went by, was this a mistaken goal: to quote but one example, the eminent professor, Saint Marc Girardin, of the French Academy, said of my book in a masterly article in the Journal des Débats on 24 February 1863:

“‘I would like this book to be widely read, particularly by those who love war and those who extol and glorify it.’

“About the same book Victor Hugo wrote to me:

“‘You arm humanity and you serve freedom by causing war to be hated. (sic) I applaud your noble efforts!’

“I could long continue on this subject and quote to you, Madam, a host of similar testimonials from all kinds of leading people from all countries. But I must limit myself. I request Your Ladyship to accept

the tribute of my warm gratitude and have the honour to be your obedient servant.

Henri Dunant

*10 December 1901*¹

Nothing could have been more to Baroness von Suttner's liking and she replied to him on 30 December:

"Thank you so much! Your letter is everything I could have wished for: it shows with great clarity your convictions concerning the cause of peace. At the same time, what a delicate tribute you pay me by dating these lines to coincide with the telegram from Christiania. Thank you with all my heart."

As she had told Dunant, Baroness von Suttner forwarded his letter to *l'Indépendance belge*, a widely read Brussels newspaper. Under the heading *A letter by Henry Dunant* it was published in the edition which appeared on 4 January 1902. It was preceded by an introduction which shows us how difficult it appeared at the time to associate charitable humanitarianism with total pacifism:

"It is not quite clear whether Henry Dunant had the honour of sharing the Nobel Peace Prize with Frédéric Passy simply because he was the promoter of the Geneva Convention or also—and chiefly—because for many years he had been enrolled under the banner of peace. To lessen the horrors of war does not, in fact, mean fighting for peace—without being paradoxical one could maintain the opposite; and at any rate, merely the merit of having founded the Red Cross would not have entitled him to the Nobel Prize, which its founder clearly intended to be awarded to those who would do the most to establish international peace and eliminate standing armies.

*It is interesting, in this regard, to read the following letter written by Henry Dunant to Baroness Bertha von Suttner, President of the Austrian Peace Society, on the day the Nobel Committee announced its decision."*²

Baroness von Suttner once again enlisted Dunant in her cause, asking him to address a few words either to the Assembly or to herself on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Austrian Peace Society.

¹ Suttner-Fried Collection, UNO. Dunant uses the word *sic* to emphasize the value of a passage. After the words quoted, Victor Hugo had continued: *"To cause war to be hated is to cause kings to be hated. I applaud your noble efforts, and I send you my most sincere congratulations."* (February 1871, BPU, Fr. MS 2110, p. 39)

² There follows the entire text of Henry Dunant's letter. *L'indépendance belge*, 4 January 1902.

Dunant replied immediately in a carefully thought out letter perfectly suited to her purpose.

Addressing it to "*Madam President*", he describes himself "*as an old man who for more than half a century has been a resolute partisan of world peace—in the future of which he firmly believes, despite all that may still happen between now and then*". He congratulates the young Austrian Peace Society and encourages it "*to fight with all its forces against this monstrosity known as war*". "*One must*", he says, "*open the present generation's eyes for the benefit of future generations*" and "*help to expand rapidly the Empire of Peaceful People, which in the end will spread over the whole earth*". He finished by quoting from a speech by Pope Leo XIII (11 February, 1889) in favour of peace.¹

In addition Dunant sent a telegram requesting to be admitted as a life member of the Austrian Peace Society.²

Among the numerous letters of congratulation received from everywhere, and which piled up right to his bedroom ceiling, there is one which undoubtedly brought Henry Dunant great satisfaction, mingled perhaps with a certain nostalgia. It came from the President of the Genevese Society for Public Utility and says:

"Allow me, as President of the Genevese Society for Public Utility, to congratulate you warmly on having received one of the Nobel Peace Prizes.

*"No one merited this distinction more than yourself, for it was you who, forty years ago, were instrumental in creating the International Standing Committee for Aid to Wounded Soldiers. Without you the Red Cross—the greatest humanitarian work of the nineteenth century—probably would not exist."*³

*

In August 1902, the Copenhagen newspaper *Spiegel* asked Henry Dunant the following question:

"How should one work to bring about universal peace? Do you think this can be achieved by the pressure of public opinion; or do you feel that this idea can succeed only by the accession of Heads of State and by diplomatic means?

"Do you believe in the possibility of a peace union?"

¹ Henry Dunant to Bertha von Suttner, 1 January 1902, Suttner-Fried Collection, UNO

² Quoted by Bertha von Suttner, *Memoiren*, p. 521

³ Professor E. Goegg to Henry Dunant, 2 January 1902, BPU MS 2112, p. 358

In his reply Dunant naturally combines both approaches:

*"In civilized countries the movement must take its strength from public opinion. But it is equally important to persuade Heads of State to accept this idea to bring nearer the moment when universal peace might be achieved by diplomatic means. States desire peace. The noble initiative by H.E. Emperor Nicholas II has given us irrefutable proof of this. Nevertheless, in certain States the peaceful inclinations of sovereigns must be supported and strengthened by manifestations of public opinion."*¹

Here one finds the ideas which Dunant frequently expressed in his writings and in his manifestos. Since States have the power to wage war, peace can be ensured only by means of diplomatic agreements. But public opinion can exert powerful pressure on Heads of State, who symbolize the will of nations. Therefore, he wrote, increasing influence should be brought to bear on public opinion, which will then in turn affect diplomacy and governments. *"If public opinion lies dormant or if its salutary vigilance is suspended, general indifference will spread also to the governments of different nations."*

Indeed, we know today that public opinion is fickle and that the ambitions of States rarely induce moderation. We know that it is not always easy to reconcile the principle of non-violence with the thirst for justice and the desire for freedom. The analysis of the causes of belligerence has reached an extremely refined level, but the ways of preventing it have not kept pace. Throughout his lengthy peace crusade Henry Dunant was quite aware that the struggle he was engaged in would not attain its objectives rapidly and that it might be a matter of some centuries, unless vigorous action achieved them sooner. All the more reason, he felt, to devote all efforts to it without delay.

Utopia or reality? For those who spoke of Utopia Henry Dunant already had his answer: *"Yesterday's Utopia often becomes tomorrow's reality."*

André Durand

¹ From an article in the *Journal de Genève*, 24 September 1927 entitled "Henri Dunant et la Paix". The article from the magazine *Der Spiegel* was reprinted in the review *Die Friedens-Warte* (13/15 July 1902, fourth year, UNO Archives), with a critical commentary on the question posed and the reply.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

Missions by the President of the ICRC

Pakistan

Mr. Alexandre Hay, President of the ICRC, accompanied by Mr. Michel Amiguet, deputy delegate-general of the ICRC for Asia and the Pacific, visited Pakistan between 11 and 17 November 1985.

In Islamabad, Mr. Hay had discussions with the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Mohamad Kahn Junejo, and thanked him for the support provided by Pakistan for the ICRC's humanitarian work for the victims of the Afghan conflict. The discussions also provided an opportunity to make an overall examination of the ICRC's main activities throughout the world and highlight the difficulties the institution encounters principally because of the internal and lengthy nature of most present-day conflicts. The ratification of the Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions was also discussed during this meeting.

In the Pakistan capital the President of the ICRC also met the Pakistan Head Commissioner for Afghan refugees and the Secretary-General of the Pakistan Red Crescent.

In Peshawar Mr. Hay had discussions with the Governor of the North West Frontier Province and later in Quetta with the Governor of the province of Baluchistan. During these occasions an overall view of the ICRC's activities in these two provinces was made.

Both in Peshawar and Quetta, discussions were held with the people in charge of the local branches of the Pakistan Red Crescent. President Hay confirmed that the ICRC wished to hand over to the National Society, as soon as possible, responsibility for the paraplegic centre set up and administered by the ICRC and providing treatment both for Afghan and for Pakistan patients. In these two cities Mr. Hay visited the various centres where the ICRC is engaged and had working meetings with the delegates.

Italy

President Hay went on mission to Rome on 5 and 6 December 1985 accompanied by Mr. Nessi, head of the ICRC Financing Division, and Mr. P. Küng, delegate-general for Europe and North America. He was received by President Cossiga, and Mr. Andreotti, Minister for Foreign Affairs, both of whom displayed great interest in the activities of the ICRC. Discussions were also held with Mrs. Agnelli, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Salleo, Director-General of the Department for Development Co-operation within the same Ministry, and with the directors of the Italian Red Cross, including Mrs. Fanfani, Dr. Ugo Tavernini, Special Commissioner, and Professor Renato Pons, Director General. Various other leading figures, including the Minister for Health and the President of the Senate, met President Hay during a dinner offered by Mrs. Fanfani. Finally a meeting took place with Italy's representatives at the Council of Europe.

Mission to Spain by a member of the ICRC

Accepting an invitation by the Presidents of the Senate and the Congress of Spanish Members of Parliament, Dr. Athos Gallino, a staff member of the ICRC, went to Spain between 3 and 5 December 1985. This mission had a two-fold aim: one to bring about an increased awareness of the ICRC and the other to meet Mr Leocadio Marín, the new President of the Spanish Red Cross.

Two information meetings about the ICRC and its work took place: one in the Senate and the other in Congress. The participants displayed a keen interest and asked numerous questions.

ICRC delegate killed in Angola

The ICRC learned with great sorrow of the death of Mr. Marc Blaser, a radio operator in Angola, on 16 December 1985.

Twenty-one years old and single, Marc Blaser went to Angola in October 1985 on his first mission for the ICRC. In the evening of

16 December, while in the neighbourhood of Lobito, he was killed in an armed attack. An inquiry is in progress to determine the exact circumstances of this tragic incident.

Although he had only recently joined the institution, Marc Blaser was highly thought of by all his colleagues for his good nature and his competence. The ICRC is grieved by the loss of this young delegate and has expressed to his parents and friends its profound sympathy.

Accession of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros to the Geneva Conventions and to the Protocols

The Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros deposited with the Swiss Government, on 21 November 1985, its instrument of accession to the four Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and to the Additional Protocols I and II adopted on 8 June 1977.

Pursuant to their provisions, the Geneva Conventions and the Protocols will enter into force for the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros on 21 May 1986.

The Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros thus becomes the 162nd State party to the Geneva Conventions, the 52nd party to Protocol I and the 45th to Protocol II.

Ratification of the Protocols by the Holy See

On 21 November 1985, the Holy See deposited with the Swiss Government an instrument of ratification of Protocols I and II additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 relating to the protection of the victims of international and non-international armed conflicts, adopted in Geneva on 8 June 1977. This instrument of ratification was accompanied by a declaration reproduced hereafter.

Pursuant to their provisions, the Protocols will enter into force for the Holy See on 21 May 1986.

The Holy See thus becomes the 53rd State party to Protocol I and the 46th to Protocol II.

Declaration by the Holy See

affixed to the instrument of ratification of the two Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949

By ratifying the two Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, relating to the Protection of Victims of International (Protocol I) and Non-International (Protocol II) Armed Conflicts and adopted in Geneva on 8 June 1977, the Holy See wishes, first of all, to acknowledge the merits and the positive results obtained by the "Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts", in which it played an active part.

The Holy See believes that, from an overall historical and legal point of view, the two Protocols represent and confirm a significant advance in humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts, an advance that deserves approval and support.

At the same time, with regard to the provisions of the above-mentioned legal texts, the Holy See wishes to remind the Secretariat of the Conference of the considerations that were made known by its delegation at the end of the session. It is a source of great pleasure to recognize the value of provisions which, in certain sectors, increase the scope of humanitarian law, as for example: the protection of the civilian population, especially of women and children; the protection afforded to cultural objects and places of worship which are evidence and signs of the spiritual heritage of nations; the protection of objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population; the respect and protection of medical and religious personnel; the ban on retaliation.

On the other hand, in the opinion of the Holy See, other provisions are less satisfactory in substance or are not very well formulated. Furthermore, uncertainties and omissions were found on important issues in relation to the development of humanitarian standards. With regard to Protocol II in particular, the Holy See regrets that, after having been stripped of a large part of its humanitarian substance by the plenary Assembly of the Conference, the Protocol has become the instrument of a rigorous legal system both in its text and in its spirit. Although the Holy See signed the Protocol, with serious reservations, and although it is now ratifying it, it is mainly because it looks upon the Protocol as an open door to future developments of humanitarian law in a crucial and, until now, much neglected sector.

The Holy See also announces that it has taken note of the reservations and declarations formulated by some States that have deposited an instrument of ratification or of adhesion to the Protocols.

Finally, the Holy See reasserts, on this occasion, its strong conviction as to the fundamentally inhumane nature of war. The humanization of the effects of armed conflicts, such as that undertaken by the two Protocols, is received with favour and encouraged by the Holy See in so far as it aims to alleviate human suffering and strives, amid unbridled passions and evil forces, to safeguard the basic principles of humanity and the supreme benefits of civilization. The Holy See expresses, moreover, its firm belief that the ultimate goal, that which is worthy of the calling of man and of human civilization, is the abolition of war. One cannot help thinking that the measures embodied in the Geneva Conventions and more recently by the two Additional Protocols—measures which are already in themselves frail instruments for the protection of victims of conventional armed conflicts—would prove to be not only insufficient but totally inadequate in the face of the ruinous devastation of a nuclear war.

The Holy See, considering itself the spokesman for the fears and the hopes of nations, hopes that the encouraging start made in Geneva by the codification of humanitarian law in armed conflicts may not go unheeded or remain a purely formal commitment but that people may become aware of it, put it into practice and follow it to its final conclusion: the abolition of war, of any kind whatever.

The Vatican, 4 October 1985

(Original French—translation ICRC)

Accession to the Protocols by the Eastern Republic of Uruguay

On 13 December 1985 the Eastern Republic of Uruguay deposited with the Swiss Government an instrument of accession to the Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts (Protocol I) and non-international armed conflicts (Protocol II), adopted in Geneva on 8 June 1977.

In accordance with their provisions, the Protocols will come into force for the Eastern Republic of Uruguay on 13 June 1986.

This accession brings to 54 the number of States party to Protocol I and to 47 those party to Protocol II.

Accession to the Protocols by the Republic of Suriname

On 16 December 1985 the Republic of Suriname deposited with the Swiss Government an instrument of accession to the Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts (Protocol I) and non-international armed conflicts (Protocol II), adopted in Geneva on 8 June 1977.

In accordance with their provisions, the Protocols will come into force for the Republic of Suriname on 16 June 1986.

This accession brings to 55 the number of States party to Protocol I and to 48 those party to Protocol II.

EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES

November-December 1985

Africa

Angola

During November and December 1985, ICRC activities in Angola increased. This period of the year being between two harvests, the nutritional condition of the population on the Planalto seriously deteriorated. Distributions of food were therefore resumed from October onwards in most townships in the provinces of Huambo and Benguela, and from 18 November in the province of Bié where they had been suspended two months earlier after an ICRC aircraft had been damaged by a mine at Chitembo.

During the period under review, numerous security problems again considerably hampered the activities of the ICRC: the looting and destruction of the feeding centre in Kuito (Bié) by armed marauders on 22 November; the murder of an ICRC radio operator on 16 December in the region of Lobito (Benguela); the destruction of two clearly marked ICRC storage depots during an attack at Mungo, in the province of Huambo, on 23 December.

The ICRC nevertheless distributed 1,402 tonnes of food to 153,372 people in November; in December, the food assistance amounted to 1,576 tonnes supplied to 171,371 people.

On the medical side, over one thousand children received treatment each month in the feeding centres administered by the ICRC. The number of medical consultations given by ICRC personnel rose from 298 in November to 791 in December; meanwhile, local personnel treated some 27,400 patients. A total of 187 wounded or seriously sick persons were evacuated from the towns and transferred by the ICRC to hospitals in the provinces; 186 patients who had recovered were taken home. Finally, the Bomba Alta orthopaedic centre, staffed by two ICRC prosthetists and an ICRC physiotherapist, fitted 95 amputees with appliances and repaired 979 prostheses and crutches.

Ethiopia

Nutritional surveys carried out by the ICRC medical teams revealed that the state of health of the population in the northern regions of the country had improved more rapidly than anticipated in the west and south of Tigré, Wollo and Gondar, while the population in other regions continued to be affected by problems of security, famine and drought in Eritrea (Akele Guzai, the low coastal plains and the extreme north of the provinces of Akordat, Keren and Sahil) and in Tigré (central region, east and west of the main road crossing the region of Mekele).

As a result of the improvement observed, six therapeutic feeding centres could be closed during the months of November and December (Akordat and Ingerne in Eritrea; Mehony, Axum, Mekele and Maychew in Tigré). Only three centres remained operational at the end of the year in Tigré (at Axum, Adwa and Idaga Hamus) where 1,291 under-nourished children continued to receive treatment. However, the ICRC made provisions for setting up a nutritional rehabilitation programme at short notice should the need arise in any region, whether or not it had previously received assistance.

General distributions of food were also continued. In November and December, 8,599 and 10,774 tonnes of food respectively were distributed to 652,049 and 838,127 victims of the conflict and drought. The December figures, higher than foreseen, were due to the fact that numerous "final distributions" were carried out during surveys of the nutritional situation in regions from which the ICRC planned to withdraw. During November, incidents connected with the government's resettlement programme obliged the ICRC to interrupt its distribution in Tigré for about ten days, until the local authorities had provided satisfactory guarantees that they would not use ICRC distributions in the selection of candidates for this programme.

In the realm of dissemination, a seminar on "Ethiopian journalists and international humanitarian law" was organized by the ICRC, in co-operation with the Ethiopian Red Cross, at Addis Ababa from 19 to 21 December. This brought together some fifty members of the press, radio and television community from all over the country, as well as representatives from the ministries, the police and the party.

Uganda

ICRC activities in Uganda were conducted mainly from the Kampala delegation, but also from an office opened in October at Kasese, in the south west of the country, under the control of the NRA (National Resistance Army).

In November, the head of the delegation, two ICRC delegates and a doctor carried out a survey in the neighbouring regions of Kasese, Fort

Portal, Hoima, Mubende, Mityana and M'pigi, controlled by the NRA. The team visited all the hospitals in these towns to assess their needs. Medicines and standard medical units were distributed to nine hospitals in five districts affected by the conflict.

Following the hijacking on 10 November of a Ugandan Airlines aircraft which was forced to land at Kasese, ICRC delegates were immediately able to visit the 42 passengers and 5 crew members aboard and organize the exchange of Red Cross messages between them and their families. At the request of the Ugandan Minister of Foreign Affairs, and after discussions with the NRA, the ICRC then arranged for 41 passengers who so wished to be flown to Kampala on 17 December aboard a small aircraft chartered in Nairobi which made two round trips from Entebbe to Kampala.

The ICRC also concerned itself with the plight of civilians and government troops under siege in the barracks at Masaka and M'Barara. Negotiations were conducted both with the government in Kampala and with the NRA with a view to carrying out a survey of needs in these places and providing the assistance required. On 11 November, those under siege in Masaka (1,329 soldiers, 374 women and 362 children) surrendered to the NRA and were allowed to be visited by an ICRC delegate and nurse, who provided them with assistance in the form of medicines and dried milk.

During a survey in the region of M'pigi, delegates evacuated a group of 600 people, victims of the events, to Kampala.

Assistance activities (distributions of food, blankets, soap and clothing) in aid of displaced persons continued east of the Bombo road, as well as in the Kibisi and Nakazi camps, and in the regions of Kampala and Luwero, benefiting about 2,000 people.

In November, delegates based in Kasese were able to visit 339 prisoners in three places of detention under the control of the NRA. In December, they visited 214 detainees in the hands of the Kampala government at the Luzira prison. Food and material assistance were supplied to the prisoners.

Because of the country being split into two, the ICRC, in co-operation with the Ugandan Red Cross, set up a tracing service for people who, living in the area controlled by the NRA, had no means of communicating with their relatives in regions under the control of government forces. Over 2,000 Red Cross messages could thus be exchanged in November and December.

Liberia

Following the attempted *coup d'état* of 12 November, two ICRC delegates and a male nurse arrived in Monrovia between 21 and 24 November to deliver emergency medical supplies to the hospitals, in co-operation with the National Red Cross Society.

After preliminary discussions with the competent authorities, delegates carried out a survey in Monrovia and Nimba (in the north east). Medicines and emergency medical supplies worth 22,000 Swiss francs were sent to Monrovia and distributed to various hospitals. In the Nimba region, limited and immediate assistance in the form of kitchen equipment, blankets, soap and clothing was supplied to a thousand people who had lost their possessions during looting, or whose houses had been destroyed. Finally, the ICRC offered its services to the authorities for visiting all people arrested in connection with the events.

Conflict between Burkina Faso and Mali

Following the border conflict which broke out on 25 December between Burkina Faso and Mali, the ICRC dispatched two delegates to Ouagadougou and Bamako respectively on 28 and 29 December.

In Burkina Faso, after consultation with the medical personnel of the League, the delegates purchased medicines locally and took them to the front (provinces of Houet and Kenedougou), accompanied by the President of the Burkina Be Red Cross Society. In accordance with customary ICRC procedures, the delegates had access to prisoners captured during the hostilities: 16 Burkina Be soldiers were visited at Bamako; two prisoners of war and a civilian were seen in Ouagadougou.

Chad

From 2 to 8 December, ICRC delegates conducted a comprehensive visit to the Detention Centre in N'Djamena housing 543 prisoners of war.

Latin America

Mission by the delegate-general

Mr. André Pasquier, ICRC delegate-general for Latin America, visited in turn *Argentina, Chile, Peru* and then *Colombia* during November.

In *Argentina*, accompanied notably by Mr. Jacques Moreillon, ICRC Director for General Affairs, Mr. Pasquier took part in the Inter-American seminar on humanitarian problems and human rights in cases of internal conflicts, which the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights and the ICRC had organized in Buenos Aires for professors of law and eminent figures from the political world.

In *Chile*, between 17 and 23 November, where he was joined by the chief medical officer of the ICRC, Mr. Pasquier had talks with the highest authorities of the country: Mr. Hugo Rosende Subiabre, Minister of Justice, Mr. del Valle Allende, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ricardo García Rodríguez, Minister of the Interior, Vice-Admiral Carvajal Prado, Minister of Defence, as well as with the director general of the "Central Nacional de Informaciones", the department of security. During these discussions, ICRC activities on behalf of persons detained for reasons of security were reviewed.

In November and December, ICRC delegates also continued regular visits to places of detention, both in Santiago and in the provinces. Special attention was paid to the prison of "Santiago Sur" where nine detainees went on hunger strike from 9 to 18 December.

Continuing his mission, Mr. Pasquier visited *Peru* from 25 to 29 November where he also had discussions at the highest level with the Peruvian authorities. He met Dr. Alan García Pérez, President of the Republic, Dr. Abel Salinas Izaguirre, Minister of the Interior, Dr. Luis Gonzales Posada, Minister of Justice, and General Luis Abram Cavallerino, Chief of Staff of the Joint Command of the Armed Forces. The aim of these meetings was to describe the activities accomplished by the ICRC in the realm of detention, and to renew the offer to extend these activities to regions where the state of emergency had been declared and where the ICRC did not have access to places of detention, either civil or military. President García agreed in principle to this offer. In addition, the Minister of the Interior confirmed that the ICRC was authorized to resume its visits, outside the emergency zones, to temporary places of detention under the authority of the "Policía de Investigaciones del Perú", these visits having been suspended in April 1985. In the course of this mission, the delegate-general also had talks with the President and the Secretary General of the Peruvian Red Cross.

Concluding his mission with a visit to *Colombia*, from 30 November to 3 December, Mr. Pasquier took stock of the situation with the ICRC regional delegation in Bogotá. He had talks with the Minister of Justice, Dr. Enrique Pajero Gonzales, concerning the latest series of visits made to places of detention under his Ministry's jurisdiction: between July and October, 160 security detainees were visited in some ten prisons in Bogotá and the provinces. Mr. Pasquier also met President Rueda and other senior members of the Colombian Red Cross.

El Salvador

ICRC delegates continued their regular visits to places of detention under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defence (security corps and military garrisons) and the Ministry of Justice; they registered 169 new detainees in November and 162 in December. The Farabundo Martí

Liberation Front (FMLN) released three prisoners in November, a foreign national and two soldiers of the Salvadorean armed forces, and handed them over to the ICRC.

Food assistance to the civilian population of regions affected by the conflict benefited over 114 000 persons in November (700 tonnes of food supplies) and over 98 800 persons in December (570 tonnes).

Some 4,300 medical consultations were given in November and 4,500 in December in regions affected by the fighting; during the same period 870 dental consultations took place in November and a thousand in December. For the first time since July, a medical team was again able to cross the Rio Torola and give consultations to civilians in the north of the province of Morazan. The programmes for improving public hygiene (lectures to the civilian population, the building of latrines, improvements in the drinking water supply) and the monitoring of the nutritional situation of infants were continued.

During November and December, the second seminar on the fundamental principles of the Red Cross took place. This was organized by the National Society for its local sections, with the support of the ICRC. In addition, further lectures on international humanitarian law and the activities of the Red Cross were given to the Salvadorean armed forces in December, bringing to a total of 80 the number of lectures given in 1985, which were attended by over 16,000 people.

Nicaragua

In November and December, ICRC delegates visited five prison farms ("granjas") in the province of Managua, as well as the regional prison of Bluefields and that of Tipitapa in the capital, as part of the ICRC protection programme for security detainees.

Paraguay

Between 26 November and 2 December the third series of visits during 1985 to security detainees in Paraguay was carried out from the regional delegation in Buenos Aires. Thirteen detainees were visited in four places of detention: the prison of Tacumbu in Asunción under the authority of the Ministry of Justice, and the "Guardia de Seguridad" in Tacumbu, the department of "Asuntos técnicos" and the "delegación de gobierno" in Ciudad Presidente Stroessner (province of Alto Paraná these latter three prisons being under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior. During these visits, ICRC delegates had talks with the Minister of the Interior, the Chief of Police, the director general of the prison service and the President of the Paraguayan Red Cross.

Grenada

From the regional delegation in Bogotá a further visit was conducted in December to the Richmond Hill prison where there were 21 security detainees. The previous visit took place in February 1985.

Asia and the Pacific

Missions by the delegate-general

Mr. Jean de Courten, ICRC delegate-general for Asia and the Pacific, carried out a mission to China from 28 November to 3 December, at the invitation of the new leaders of the Chinese Red Cross. This mission provided an opportunity for numerous discussions with senior members of the National Society, in particular the Vice-President, as well as with the governmental authorities, including the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Following his mission to China, the delegate-general for Asia visited Manila, where he had discussions with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Justice, as well as with General Ramos, Acting Chief of Staff. Mr. de Courten also attended the Sixteenth Convention of the Philippine Red Cross.

Conflict in Afghanistan

Activities in Pakistan

During November and December the number of wounded able to reach the hospital in Peshawar diminished, while still remaining relatively high in view of the wintry conditions. The field hospital which had been set up in the outskirts of Peshawar at the beginning of September, in order to cope with the massive influx of wounded at the end of the summer, could be closed and dismantled at the beginning of November; most of the patients in this hospital had no further need of hospital treatment. Those who did were transferred to the main ICRC hospital which worked at full capacity during the two months under review. 161 wounded were admitted and 387 operations carried out in November, 130 wounded admitted and 302 operations carried out in December.

During this period, the situation remained stable at the ICRC hospital in Quetta (Baluchistan) where 55 wounded were admitted in November and 45 in December. The number of operations conducted was 140 and 125 respectively.

The six mobile first-aid teams (based at Parachinar, Miram Shah, Wana, Khar, Chaman and Badini), administered by the Pakistan Red Crescent with the help of the ICRC, continued to evacuate wounded Afghans to the ICRC hospitals in Peshawar and Quetta. During the two months under review, a total of 225 wounded received first aid, 165 of these being sent on to hospital. ICRC delegates carried out a survey in the south-west of Baluchistan to examine the feasibility of setting up a seventh mobile team in the region of Chagai. A sad incident must also be reported: the death of an ambulance driver attached to the Parachinar first-aid post, which occurred in a traffic accident during the evacuation of a wounded man.

The paraplegic rehabilitation centre admitted 14 new patients in November and 7 in December. At the end of the year, 73 patients were receiving rehabilitation treatment, including 27 Pakistanis.

The orthopaedic workshop continued its activities. Owing to the transfer of premises which took place during September and October, these activities were slightly reduced in November but resumed their usual rhythm in December. A total of 60 prostheses were made during the two months and 39 patients fitted with appliances.

The ICRC also continued its programme of training in first aid, the dissemination of basic humanitarian rules and the fundamental principles of the Red Cross and Red Crescent. The 36th first-aid course took place from 21 November to 21 December and trained fifteen Afghan first-aiders. The 8th course in Quetta trained twelve first-aid workers and the 9th course started on 22 December. Two-day courses continued to be organized on a regular basis: in November and December 814 Afghans were taught the basic humanitarian rules as well as how to apply dressings in the course of 50 sessions held in Peshawar. At Quetta 14 courses were given for an audience of 163 students; four courses were also organized in Chaman and were attended by 58 people.

Conflict in Kampuchea

Activities along the Khmer-Thai border

The situation was relatively calm along the border and the ICRC continued its activities on behalf of some 240,000 persons displaced in the region, more than 135,000 of whom are gathered together in one place, "site 2".

Among the displaced persons is a particularly vulnerable group of some 4,000 Vietnamese refugees who have travelled there overland across Kampuchea. In order to ensure better protection for these people and facilitate long-term solutions, specific criteria for admission into their separate and protected sector were drawn up and submitted to the authorities concerned. These proposals were accepted and a re-examination of the cases,

under the responsibility of the Thai authorities, began on 3 December and was completed at the beginning of January 1986. Two translators engaged by the ICRC were available to the Commission that carried out this examination.

The ICRC Tracing Agency office in Thailand transmitted 6,083 letters between refugees and their families living either in a camp along the Khmer-Thai border, or abroad.

The ICRC surgical hospital at Khao-I-Dang treated slightly fewer war wounded than in previous months: 36 in November and 17 in December. On the other hand, the number of emergency medical cases continued to increase: 95 cases in November and 127 in December. The ICRC also continued evacuating the wounded from the border zone and transferring others from the first-aid centre it runs at Kap Cherng to the Khao-I-Dang hospital; 162 cases of this kind were handled in November and 129 in December.

First-aid courses were organized for the occupants of the various sites. In December, delegates began giving lectures on international humanitarian law to senior members of the administrative staff and first-aid workers at site 8, along the lines of those already given at site 2. Courses were also arranged for chiefs of Thai villages and districts in the Chanthaburi province in November, these courses being organized in close co-operation with the Thai Red Cross.

Activities in Kampuchea

As part of its assistance programme, the ICRC continued to supply medicines and medical equipment to the three hospitals and the blood bank in the capital, as well as to the five provincial hospitals in Takmao, Takeo, Kompong Speu, Kampot and Kompong Thom. Following these distributions, the ICRC conducted surveys to re-assess the various needs and to establish what use was being made of the relief provided. In addition, a complete unit for producing serum was supplied by the ICRC to the provincial hospital in Kampot.

The programme of assistance to orphanages was continued. In November, the ICRC delegate responsible for this project visited the orphanage at Prek Pneu in order to draw up long-term plans to improve housing and hygiene conditions, along the lines of plans drawn up for the orphanages at Pney Veng, Svay Rieng, Kompong Cham, Kompong Chnang and Kampot. The same process was repeated in December in Kampot, after which the orphanages in both Prek Pneu and Kampot were supplied with the necessary materials and equipment to build beds.

In addition, the ICRC continued to provide logistic and administrative support for the medical teams of three National Red Cross Societies (from France, Sweden and Switzerland). At the beginning of December, the Swiss Red Cross team withdrew from the Kompong Cham hospital where it had been working.

Vietnam

A seminar on the dissemination of international humanitarian law, organized by the ICRC and the Vietnamese Red Cross, was held in Hanoi from 12 to 16 November. This seminar was attended by senior members from Red Cross sections in 19 provinces in the north of the country and the capital, as well as by representatives of the Vietnamese authorities.

Indonesia and East Timor

ICRC delegates carried out a further series of visits to people in East Timor arrested in connection with the events, starting on 6 November. They visited the prisons of Cipinang and Tangerang in Jakarta and those of Comarca and Becora in Dili and saw 225 detainees. Delegates also visited the island of Atauro where there were still 936 displaced persons.

In December, a mission to assess the medical and nutritional situation was carried out in five villages of East Timor.

Burma

From mid-November, a programme of assistance to disabled people was started at the hospital for the disabled in Rangoon. This was organized jointly by the Burmese Red Cross, the Ministry of Health and the ICRC. Three ICRC technicians are training Burmese personnel in physiotherapy and the production of prostheses.

Middle East

Lebanon

Between 20 and 24 November violent fighting broke out between rival factions in West Beirut. During these few days, ICRC activities were conducted from the cover of the Beirut delegation and from an emergency office situated in the southern suburbs. The most urgent medical needs could be met, due to the reinforcement of the medical team which comprised, during this period, a medical co-ordinator, a medical administrator and a nurse working from the shelter of the delegation; the emergency office in the southern suburbs was run by a nurse who set up stocks of medical equipment. During the brief lulls in hostilities, medicines and medical equipment were distributed to the hospitals and dispensaries: after

the cease-fire on 24 November, these distributions continued as and where required. The urgent need for blood was met by the Norwegian and Swiss Red Cross Societies, which sent 240 units immediately distributed by the ICRC and the Lebanese Red Cross to the hospitals in Beirut.

On 9 and 17 December respectively, at the request of the "Palestinian Red Crescent", the ICRC and the Lebanese Red Cross conveyed 19 wounded persons from Borj el Brajneh to Beirut international airport; from there they were flown abroad to undergo surgery.

In addition to these medical activities, delegates continued their rounds to survey needs in the hospitals and dispensaries in Beirut, Sidon, Tyre and Jezzine, preparatory to providing the necessary supplies. In November and December they distributed 592 standard emergency kits worth approximately 160,000 Swiss francs, as well as medical equipment and medicines valued at some 54,500 Swiss francs.

Furthermore, the ICRC provided relief (blankets and food) to families (approximately 13,000 beneficiaries) while the Tracing Agency offices forwarded 1,808 family messages during November and December, as well as registering 13 tracing requests.

The ICRC also continued its activities in the orthopaedic centres of Beit Chebab, Sidon and Damascus, where 63 prostheses and 27 orthoses were produced during November and December. During this period, orthopaedic consultations were also given in Mreije, in the southern suburbs, and at Falougha in the Chouf.

Conflict between Iraq and Iran

The ICRC continued its visits to Iranian prisoners of war held in Iraq; conversely, it was not able to resume its protection activities for Iraqi prisoners of war in Iran which were suspended by the Iranian authorities on 10 October 1984.

During a fresh series of visits to Iranian prisoners of war in Iraq, which began on 17 November and was completed on 16 December, 9,847 Iranian prisoners of war were visited in nine camps and four hospitals, and 16 new Iranian prisoners of war were registered.

In November and December, 83,172 family messages addressed to Iranian prisoners of war and their families, and 179,827 family messages for Iraqi prisoners of war and their families were exchanged through the ICRC Central Tracing Agency in Geneva.

In addition, between 5 and 7 November, ICRC delegates visited displaced Kurd civilians interned in Ramadi camp; they distributed 331 Red Cross messages there and collected 525 messages addressed to internees' families.

Two repatriation operations for prisoners of war took place in November and December. On 21 November 17 elderly Iranian prisoners of

war, selected by a Mixed Medical Commission, were repatriated, under the auspices of the ICRC, to their country of origin. ICRC delegates accompanied them from Bagdad to Ankara, aboard an Iraqi aircraft, where they were handed over to representatives of the Iranian authorities. Other ICRC delegates, who had come from Teheran, accompanied the released prisoners, aboard an Iranian aircraft, to the Iranian capital. On 15 December Iran repatriated 97 Iraqi prisoners to their country of origin with the co-operation of the Turkish Red Crescent.

Starting on 4 November, a Mixed Medical Commission made up of two ICRC doctors and an Iraqi doctor made a round of the nine prisoner-of-war camps and the three military hospitals in Iraq, where they examined the cases of sick or wounded prisoners of war eligible for repatriation under the terms of the Third Convention. Following this round of visits, the early repatriation of 82 Iranian prisoners was recommended and submitted for approval to the Iraqi authorities.

MISCELLANEOUS

States parties to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949

States parties to the Protocols of 8 June 1977

as at 31 December 1985

Below we give the lists, drawn up in chronological order as at 31 December 1985, of the States which became parties to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 during the past five years (1981-1985), and of all the States parties to Protocols I and II additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, adopted on 8 June 1977.

The names of the States are shown in abbreviated form; the number in the left-hand margin has no special significance, and has been placed there merely to facilitate reference. The list of States parties to the Conventions starts at number 146; for the 145 States which had previously become parties to the Conventions see the *International Review of the Red Cross*, July-August 1982.

The numbering of States parties to the Protocols has been divided into two columns, the first for the States parties to Protocol I, the second for those parties to Protocol II.

The third column indicates the form of official act received by the depositary in Bern: R = ratification; A = accession; S = declaration of succession.

The fourth column indicates whether the signatory State has made any reservations as to the application of the Conventions or the Protocols, whether it has made any special declarations, and, by the abbreviation "Int. Commission", whether it has accepted the competence of the International Fact-finding Commission provided for in Art. 90, para. 2 of Protocol I.

States parties to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949

	OFFICIAL DATE OF REGISTRATION	TYPE OF ACT RECEIVED	REMARKS
1981			
146 Tuvalu	19 February	S-as from 1.10.78	
147 St. Vincent and the Grenadines	1 April	A	
148 Grenada	13 April	S-as from 7.2.74	
149 Solomon Islands	6 July	S-as from 7.7.78	
150 Saint Lucia	18 September	S-as from 22.2.79	
151 Commonwealth of Dominica	28 September	S-as from 3.11.78	
1982			
152 Rep. of Vanuatu	27 October	A	
1983			
153 Rep. of Zimbabwe	7 March	A	
154 People's Rep. of Mozambique	14 March	A	
155 Namibia (UN Council for)	18 October	A	
1984			
156 Rep. of Cape Verde	11 May	A	
157 Belize	29 June	A	
158 Rep. of Guinea	11 July	A	
159 Western Samoa	23 August	S-as from 1.1.62	
160 Angola	20 September	A	Reservation
161 Rep. of Seychelles	8 November	A	
1985			
162 Comoros	21 November	A	

On 31 December 1985, 162 States were parties to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949.

States parties to the Protocols of 8 June 1977

PROTOCOLS			OFFICIAL DATE	TYPE OF ACT	REMARKS
I	II		OF REGISTRATION	RECEIVED	
1978					
1	1	Ghana	28 February	R	
2	2	Libya	7 June	A	
Date of entry into force of the Protocols: 7 December 1978					
3	3	Salvador	23 November	R	
1979					
4	4	Ecuador	10 April	R	
5	5	Jordan	1 May	R	
6	6	Botswana	23 May	A	
7		Cyprus	1 June	R	Prot. I only
8	7	Niger	8 June	R	
9	8	Yugoslavia	11 June	R	Declaration
10	9	Tunisia	9 August	R	
11	10	Sweden	31 August	R	Reservation Int. Commission
1980					
12	11	Mauritania	14 March	A	
13	12	Gabon	8 April	A	
14	13	Bahamas	10 April	A	
15	14	Finland	7 August	R	Reservation and declarations Int. Commission
16	15	Bangladesh	8 September	A	
17	16	Laos	18 November	R	
1981					
18		Viet Nam	19 October	R	Prot. I only
19	17	Norway	14 December	R	Int. Commission
1982					
20	18	Rep. of Korea	15 January	R	Declaration
21	19	Switzerland	17 February	R	Reservations Int. Commission
22	20	Mauritius	22 March	A	
23		Zaire	3 June	A	Prot. I only
24	21	Denmark	17 June	R	Reservation Int. Commission
25	22	Austria	13 August	R	Int. Commission
26	23	Saint Lucia	7 October	A	
27		Cuba	25 November	A	Prot. I only

1983

28	24	Tanzania	15 February	A	
29	25	United Arab Emirates	9 March	A	Declaration
30		Mexico	10 March	A	Prot. I only
31		Mozambique	14 March	A	Prot. I only
32	26	St Vincent and the Grenadines	8 April	A	
33	27	People's Rep. of China	14 September	A	Reservation
34	28	Namibia (UN Council for)	18 October	A	
35	29	People's Rep. of Congo	10 November	A	
36		Syrian Arab Republic	14 November	A	Prot. I only Declaration
37	30	Bolivia	8 December	A	
38	31	Costa Rica	15 December	A	

1984

	32	France	24 February	A	Prot. II only
39	33	Cameroon	16 March	A	
40	34	Oman	29 March	A	Declaration
41	35	Togo	21 June	R	
42	36	Belize	29 June	A	
43	37	Rep. of Guinea	11 July	A	
44	38	Central African Rep.	17 July	A	
45	39	Western Samoa	23 August	A	
46		Angola	20 September	A	Prot. I only Declaration
47	40	Rep. of Seychelles	8 November	A	
48	41	Rwanda	19 November	A	

1985

49	42	Kuwait	17 January	A	
50	43	Vanuatu	28 February	A	
51	44	Senegal	7 May	R	
52	45	Comoros	21 November	A	
53	46	Holy See	21 November	R	Declaration
54	47	Uruguay	13 December	A	
55	48	Suriname	16 December	A	

On 31 December 1985, 55 States were parties to Protocol I and 48 to Protocol II.

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

H. S. LEVIE: PROTECTION OF WAR VICTIMS, SUPPLEMENT ¹

In our notice on the first volume of H. S. Levie's work entitled *Protection of War Victims: Protocol I to the 1949 Geneva Conventions*, we announced that three more volumes would soon appear (see *International Review of the Red Cross*, January-February 1981).

The four volumes bring together, article by article and in chronological order, all the documents from the Diplomatic Conference which, from 1974 to 1977, drew up Protocol I.

Unlike the preceding volumes, the supplement published contains the documents relating to a provision not retained by the Diplomatic Conference. This is Article 77 of draft Protocol I, dealing with *orders from superiors*, which did not obtain the required two-thirds majority of votes.

Mr. Levie rightly felt that the relevant documents were worth presenting in accessible form. This addition will doubtless be as useful to those interested in this subject as the other volumes in the series.

B. Zimmermann

THE REVIEW "PRÉVENIR ET PROTÉGER"

Prévenir et Protéger (To prevent and Protect) are the two aims and the title of this information and liaison review on ill-treated and abandoned children; it is published by the *Fondation pour l'Enfance* (8, rue des Jardins Saint-Paul, F-75004 Paris) and the first issue came out in June 1985.

As an information review this periodical publishes material every three months on:

- The latest French legislative and statutory texts;
- Books, articles, reports on studies and research;
- Recent or forthcoming congresses, symposiums, seminars and training courses;
- Current activities and new approaches;
- What is happening internationally.

As a means of exchanging news and views between people and institutions anxious to help ill-treated and neglected children, *Prévenir et Protéger* appeals for all to co-operate.

Price: In France, 31 French francs per issue or a one year's subscription of 120 francs. Abroad, 35 francs or a one year's subscription of 150 francs.

¹ Howard S. Levie, *Protection of War Victims: Protocol I to the 1949 Geneva Conventions, Supplement*, 45 pages, Oceana Publications, Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1985.

ADDRESSES OF NATIONAL SOCIETIES

- AFGHANISTAN (Democratic Republic) — Afghan Red Crescent, Puli Artan, *Kabul*.
- ALBANIA (People's Socialist Republic) — Albanian Red Cross, 35, Rruga e Barrikadave, *Tirana*.
- ALGERIA (Democratic and People's Republik) — Algerian Red Crescent Society, 15 bis, boulevard Mohamed V, *Algiers*.
- ARGENTINA — Argentine Red Cross, H. Yrigoyen 2068, 1089 *Buenos Aires*.
- AUSTRALIA — Australian Red Cross, 206, Clarendon Street, *East Melbourne 3002*.
- AUSTRIA — Austrian Red Cross, 3 Gusshausstrasse, Postfach 39, A-1041, *Vienna 4*.
- BAHAMAS — Bahamas Red Cross Society, P.O. Box N 91, *Nassau*.
- BAHRAIN — Bahrain Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 882, *Manama*.
- BANGLADESH — Bangladesh Red Cross Society, 34, Bangabandhu Avenue, *Dhaka 2*.
- BARBADOS — The Barbados Red Cross Society, Red Cross House, Jemmotts Lane, *Bridgetown*.
- BELGIUM — Belgian Red Cross, 98, chaussée de Vleurgat, 1050 *Brussels*.
- BELIZE — The Belize Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 413, *Belize-City*.
- BENIN (People's Republic) — Red Cross of Benin, B.P. 1, *Porto Novo*.
- BOLIVIA — Bolivian Red Cross, Avenida Simón Bolívar 1515, *La Paz*.
- BOTSWANA — Botswana Red Cross Society, Independence Avenue, P.O. Box 485, *Gaborone*.
- BRAZIL — Brazilian Red Cross, Praça Cruz Vermelha 10-12, *Rio de Janeiro*.
- BULGARIA — Bulgarian Red Cross, 1, Boul. Biruzov, *Sofia 27*.
- BURKINA FASO — Burkina Faso Red Cross, P.O.B. 340, *Ouagadougou*.
- BURMA (Societal Republic of the Union of) — Burma Red Cross, 42, Strand Road, Red Cross Building, *Rangoon*.
- BURUNDI — Red Cross Society of Burundi, rue du Marché 3, P.O. Box 324, *Bujumbura*.
- CAMEROON — Cameroon Red Cross Society, rue Henry-Dunant, P.O.B. 631, *Yaoundé*.
- CANADA — Canadian Red Cross, 95, Wellesley Street East, *Toronto, Ontario M4Y 1H6*.
- CAPE VERDE (Republic of) — Cruz Vermelha de Cabo Verde, Rua Unidade-Guiné-Cabo Verde, P.O. Box 119, *Praia*.
- CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC — Central African Red Cross, B.P. 1428, *Bangui*.
- CHILE — Chilean Red Cross, Avenida Santa Maria 0150, Correo 21, Casilla 246V., *Santiago*.
- CHINA (People's Republic) — Red Cross Society of China, 53, Kanmien Hutung, *Peking*.
- COLOMBIA — Colombian Red Cross, Avenida 68, No. 66-31, Apartado Aéreo 11-10, *Bogotá D.E.*
- CONGO (People's Republic of the) — Croix-Rouge congolaise, place de la Paix, B.P. 4145, *Brazzaville*.
- COSTA RICA — Costa Rican Red Cross, Calle 14, Avenida 8, Apartado 1025, *San José*.
- CÔTE D'IVOIRE — Croix-Rouge de Côte d'Ivoire, B.P. 1244, *Abidjan*.
- CUBA — Cuban Red Cross, Calle 23, No. 201 esq., N. Vedado, *Havana*.
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA — Czechoslovak Red Cross, Thunovska 18, 118 04 *Prague 1*.
- DENMARK — Danish Red Cross, Dag Hammarskjölds Allé 28, Postboks 2600, 2100 *København Ø*.
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC — Dominican Red Cross, Apartado postal 1293, *Santo Domingo*.
- ECUADOR — Ecuadorian Red Cross, Calle de la Cruz Roja y Avenida Colombia 118, *Quito*.
- EGYPT (Arab Republic of) — Egyptian Red Crescent Society, 29, El-Galaa Street, *Cairo*.
- EL SALVADOR — El Salvador Red Cross, 17 Av. Norte y 7.^a Calle Poniente, Centro de Gobierno, *San Salvador*, Apartado Postal 2672.
- ETHIOPIA — Ethiopian Red Cross, Ras Desta Damtew Avenue, *Addis Ababa*.
- FIJI — Fiji Red Cross Society, 193, Rodwell Road, P.O. Box 569, *Suva*.
- FINLAND — Finnish Red Cross, Tehtaankatu, 1 A, Box 168, 00141 *Helsinki 14/15*.
- FRANCE — French Red Cross, 17, rue Quentin-Bauchart, F-75384 *Paris*, CEDEX 08.
- GAMBIA — The Gambia Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 472, *Banjul*.
- GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC — German Red Cross in the German Democratic Republic, Kaitzstrasse 2, DDR 801 *Dresden 1*.
- GERMANY FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF — German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany, Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 71, 5300, *Bonn 1*, Postfach 1460 (D.B.R.).
- GHANA — Ghana Red Cross, National Headquarters, Ministries Annex A3, P.O. Box 835, *Accra*.
- GREECE — Hellenic Red Cross, rue Lycavittou, 1, *Athens 135*.
- GUATEMALA — Guatemalan Red Cross, 3.^a Calle 8-40, Zona 1, *Ciudad de Guatemala*.
- GUYANA — Guyana Red Cross, P.O. Box 351, Eve Leary, *Georgetown*.
- HAITI — Haiti Red Cross, place des Nations Unies, B.P. 1337, *Port-au-Prince*.
- HONDURAS — Honduran Red Cross, 7.^a Calle, 1.^a y 2.^a Avenidas, *Comayagüela D.M.*
- HUNGARY — Hungarian Red Cross, V. Arany János utca, 31, *Budapest V*, Mail Add.: 1367 *Budapest 5, Pp. 121*.
- ICELAND — Icelandic Red Cross, Nóatúni 21, 105 *Reykjavik*.
- INDIA — Indian Red Cross, 1, Red Cross Road, *New Delhi 110001*.
- INDONESIA — Indonesian Red Cross, Manggala Wanabakti, 9th floor, Jalan Gatot Subroto, P.O. Box 2009, *Djakarta*.
- IRAN — Iranian Red Crescent, Avenue Ostad Nejatollahi, Carrefour Ayatollah Taleghani, *Teheran*.
- IRAQ — Iraqi Red Crescent, Al-Mansour, *Baghdad*.
- IRELAND — Irish Red Cross, 16, Merriem Square, *Dublin 2*.
- ITALY — Italian Red Cross, 12, via Toscana, *Rome*.
- JAMAICA — Jamaica Red Cross Society, 76, Arnold Road, *Kingston 5*.
- JAPAN — Japanese Red Cross, 1-3, Shiba-Daimon 1-chome, Minato-Ku, *Tokyo 105*.
- JORDAN — Jordan National Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 10001, *Amman*.
- KENYA — Kenya Red Cross Society, St. John's Gate, P.O. Box 40712, *Nairobi*.
- KOREA (Democratic People's Republic of) — Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *Pyongyang*.
- KOREA (Republic of) — The Republic of Korea National Red Cross, 32-3Ka, Nam San-Dong, *Seoul*.
- KUWAIT — Kuwait Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 1359, *Kuwait*.
- LAOS (Lao People's Democratic Republic) — Lao Red Cross, P.B. 650, *Vientiane*.
- LEBANON — Lebanese Red Cross, rue Spears, *Beirut*.
- LESOTHO — Lesotho Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 366, *Maseru*.
- LIBERIA — Liberian National Red Cross, National Headquarters, 107 Lynch Street, P.O. Box 226, *Monrovia*.
- LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA — Libyan Arab Red Crescent, P.O. Box 541, *Benghazi*.
- LIECHTENSTEIN — Liechtenstein Red Cross, *Vaduz*.
- LUXEMBOURG — Luxembourg Red Cross, Parc de la Ville, C.P. 404, *Luxembourg*.
- MALAGASY REPUBLIC — Red Cross Society of the Malagasy Republic, rue Patrice-Lumumba, *Antananarivo*.
- MALAWI — Malawi Red Cross, Hall Road, *Blantyre* (P.O. Box 30080, Chichiri, *Blantyre 3*).
- MALAYSIA — Malaysian Red Crescent Society, National HQ, No. 32 Jalan Nipah, off Jalan Ampang, *Kuala Lumpur 16-03*.
- MALI — Mali Red Cross, B.P. 280, *Bamako*.
- MAURITANIA — Mauritanian Red Crescent Society, B.P. 344, Avenue Gamal Abdel Nasser, *Nouakchott*.

- MAURITIUS — Mauritius Red Cross, Ste Thérèse Street, *Curepipe*.
- MEXICO — Mexican Red Cross, Avenida Ejército Nacional N.º 1032, *México 10 DF*.
- MONACO — Red Cross of Monaco, 27 boul. de Suisse, *Monte Carlo*.
- MONGOLIA — Red Cross Society of the Mongolian People's Republic, Central Post Office, Post Box 537, *Ulan Bator*.
- MOROCCO — Moroccan Red Crescent, B.P. 189, *Rabat*.
- NEPAL — Nepal Red Cross Society, Tahachal, P.B. 217, *Kathmandu*.
- NETHERLANDS — Netherlands Red Cross, P.O.B. 30427, *2500 GK The Hague*.
- NEW ZEALAND — New Zealand Red Cross, Red Cross House, 14 Hill Street, *Wellington 1* (P.O. Box 12-140, *Wellington North*).
- NICARAGUA — Nicaragua Red Cross, D.N. Apartado 3279, *Managua*.
- NIGER — Red Cross Society of Niger, B.P. 386, *Niamey*.
- NIGERIA — Nigerian Red Cross Society, Eko Akete Close, off St. Gregory Rd., P.O. Box. 764, *Lagos*.
- NORWAY — Norwegian Red Cross, Drammensveien 20 A, *Oslo 2*. Mail add.: *Postboks 2338, Solli, Oslo 2*.
- PAKISTAN — Pakistan Red Crescent Society, National Headquarters, Sector H-8, *Islamabad*.
- PAPUA NEW GUINEA — Red Cross of Papua New Guinea, P.O. Box 6545, *Boroko*.
- PANAMA — Panamanian Red Cross, Apartado Postal 668, *Zona 1, Panamá*.
- PARAGUAY — Paraguayan Red Cross, Brasil 216, *Asunción*.
- PERU — Peruvian Red Cross, Av. Camino del Inca y Nazarenas, Urb. Las Gardenias — Surco — Apartado 1534, *Lima*.
- PHILIPPINES — Philippine National Red Cross, Bonifacio Drive, Port Area, P.O. Box 280, *Manila 2803*.
- POLAND — Polish Red Cross, Mokotowska 14, *Warsaw*.
- PORTUGAL — Portuguese Red Cross, Jardim 9 Abril, 1 a 5, *Lisbon 3*.
- QATAR — Qatar Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 5449, *Doha*.
- ROMANIA — Red Cross of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Strada Biserica Amzei, 29, *Bucarest*.
- RWANDA — Rwanda Red Cross, B.P. 425, *Kigali*.
- SAN MARINO — San Marino Red Cross, Palais gouvernemental, *San Marino*.
- SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE — Sociedade Nacional da Cruz Vermelha de São Tomé e Príncipe, C.P. 96, *São Tomé*.
- SAUDI ARABIA — Saudi Arabian Red Crescent, *Riyadh*.
- SENEGAL — Senegalese Red Cross Society, Bd Franklin-Roosevelt, P.O.B. 299, *Dakar*.
- SIERRA LEONE — Sierra Leone Red Cross Society, 6A. Liverpool Street, P.O.B. 427, *Freetown*.
- SINGAPORE — Singapore Red Cross Society, 15, Penang Lane, *Singapore 0923*.
- SOMALIA (Democratic Republic) — Somali Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 937, *Mogadishu*.
- SOUTH AFRICA — South African Red Cross, 77, de Villiers Street, P.O.B. 8726, *Johannesburg 2000*.
- SPAIN — Spanish Red Cross, Eduardo Dato, 16, *Madrid 10*.
- SRI LANKA (Dem. Soc. Rep. of) — Sri Lanka Red Cross Society, 106, Dharmapala Mawatha, *Colombo 7*.
- SUDAN — Sudanese Red Crescent, P.O. Box 235, *Khartoum*.
- SWAZILAND — Baphalali Swaziland Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 377, *Mbabane*.
- SWEDEN — Swedish Red Cross, Box 27316, *102-54 Stockholm*.
- SWITZERLAND — Swiss Red Cross, Rainmattstrasse 10, B.P. 2699, *3001 Berne*.
- SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC — Syrian Red Crescent, Bd Mahdi Ben Barake, *Damascus*.
- TANZANIA — Tanzania Red Cross Society, Upanga Road., P.O.B. 1133, *Dar es Salaam*.
- THAILAND — Thai Red Cross Society, Paribatra Building, Chulalongkorn Memorial Hospital, *Bangkok*.
- TOGO — Togolese Red Cross Society, 51, rue Boko Soga, P.O. Box 655, *Lomé*.
- TONGA — Tonga Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 456, *Nuku'alofa*.
- TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO — Trinidad and Tobago Red Cross Society, Wrightson Road West, P.O. Box 357, *Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies*.
- TUNISIA — Tunisian Red Crescent, 19, rue d'Angleterre, *Tunis*.
- TURKEY — Turkish Red Crescent, Yenisehir, *Ankara*.
- UGANDA — Uganda Red Cross, Plot 49, South Street, P.O. Box 494, *Kampala*.
- UNITED KINGDOM — British Red Cross, 9, Grosvenor Crescent, *London, S.W.1X 7EJ*.
- URUGUAY — Uruguayan Red Cross, Avenida 8 de Octubre 2990, *Montevideo*.
- U.S.A. — American National Red Cross, 17th and D. Streets, N.W., *Washington, D.C. 20006*.
- U.S.S.R. — Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, I. Tcheremushkinskii proezd 5, *Moscow, 117036*.
- VENEZUELA — Venezuelan Red Cross, Avenida Andrés Bello, N.º 4, Apartado 3185, *Caracas*.
- VIET NAM (Socialist Republic of) — Red Cross of Viet Nam, 68, rue Bà-Triêu, *Hanoi*.
- WESTERN SAMOA — The Western Samoa Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 1616, *Apia*.
- YEMEN (Arab Republic) — Yemen Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 1257, *Sana'a*.
- YEMEN (People's Democratic Republic) — The Yemen Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 455, *Aden*.
- YUGOSLAVIA — Red Cross of Yugoslavia, Simina ulica broj 19, *11000 Belgrade*.
- ZAIRE — Red Cross of the Republic of Zaire, 41, av. de la Justice, B.P. 1712, *Kinshasa*.
- ZAMBIA — Zambia Red Cross, P.O. Box 50 001, 2837 Brentwood Drive, *Lusaka*.
- ZIMBABWE — The Zimbabwe Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 1406, *Harare*.